

AN
HISTORICAL DISCOURSE,
—
CALLENDER.

1789

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Historical Discourse

ON THE

Civil and Religious Affairs

of the COLONY of

RHODE-ISLAND

AND

Providence Plantations

IN

NEW-ENGLAND

in America.

From the first Settlement 1638, to the End of
first CENTURY.

By JOHN CALLENDER, A.M.

Joshua xxii. 22. *The LORD God of Gods, the LORD God of Gods, he knoweth, and Israel shall know, if it be in Rebellion, or if in Transgression against the Lord.*

Psal. cxlv. 4. *One Generation shall praise thy Name to another, and shall declare thy mighty Acts.*

B O S T O N .:

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To the Honourable

William Coddington, Esq;

S I R,



It is not barely to
give you a publick
Testimony of my
Gratitude for ma-
ny personal Favours, nor
yet of that Esteem and Re-
spect which all Men bear
you, for your singular Equi-
ty and Benevolence, not on-

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ly in private Life, but in all the various Offices, in which you have served and adorned your Country; that I prefix your Name to these Papers: But because an Attempt to recover some Account of this happy Island, and to make a religious Improvement of the merciful Providences of God towards it, is justly due to the lineal Representative of that worthy Gentleman, who was the great Instrument of it's original Settlement.

Your honoured Grandfather *William Coddington*, Esq; was chosen in *England* to be an

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an *Assistant* of the Colony of the *Massachusetts-Bay*, A. D. 1629, and in 1630 came over to *New-England* with the Governour and the Charter, &c. after which he was several Times rechosen to that honourable and important Office. He was for some Time Treasurer of the Colony. He was with the Chiefest in all publick Charges, 'and a principal Merchant in *Boston*', where he built the first Brick House.

In the Year 1637, when the Contentions ran so high in the Country, he was grieved at
at

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at the Proceedings of the Court, against Mr. *Wheelwright* and Others. And when he found that his Oppositions to those Measures was ineffectual, he entred his Protest, 'that his Dissent might appear to succeeding Times'; and though he was in the fairest Way to be Great, in the *Massachusetts* as to outward Things, yet he voluntarily quitted his Advantageous Situation at *Boston*, his large Propriety and Improvements at *Braintree*, for Peace sake, and that he might befriend, protect, and assist the pious People, who were
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meditating a Removal from that Colony, on account of their religious Differences.

Here when the People first incorporated themselves a Body politick on this Island, they chose him to be their Judge or chief Ruler, and continued to elect him annually to be their Governor for seven Years together, 'till the Patent took Place, and the Island was incorporated with *Providence-Plantations*.

In the Year 1647, he assisted in forming the Body
of

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of Laws, which has been the Basis of our Constitution and Government ever since; and the next Year being chosen Governour of the Colony, declined the Office.

In 1651, he had a Commission from the supream Authority then in *England*, to be Governour of the Island, pursuant to a Power reserved in the *Patent* : But the People being jealous ' the Commission might affect their Lands and Liberties as seemed to them by the Patent', he readily laid it

it down on the first Notice from *England* that he might do so; & for their further Satisfaction and Contentment, he, by a Writing under his Hand, obliged himself to make a formal Surrender of all Right and Title to any of the Lands, more than his Proportion in common with the other Inhabitants, whenever it should be demanded.

After that he seems to have retired much from publick Business, till toward the latter End of his Days, when he was again divers Times prevailed with to take the Government upon him; as he did particu-
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larly

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larly 1678, when he died Nov. 1. in the 78th Year of his Age, *a good Man full of Days*. Thus after he had the Honour to be the first Judge and Governour of this Island, 'after he had spent much of his Estate and the Prime of his Life in propagating Plantations', he died Governour of the Colony--in promoting the Welfare and the Prosperity of the little Common-Wealth, which he had in a manner founded.

If there was any Opposition at any Time to any of his Measures, or if he met with any ingrateful Returns from any he had served, it was no more than
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than what several of the other first excellent Governours of the other *New-English* Colonies met with, from a People made froward by the Circumstances of a Wilderness, and over jealous of their Priviledges. A free People will always be jealous of their Priviledges, and History abounds with Examples of the Mistakes and Ingratitude occasioned by that Jealousy.

If the following Discourse has done any Justice to the Memory and Character of the pious People who first settled this Colony, or if it has any Tendency to promote
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the true original Ends of this Plantation, I am sure of your Patronage. And as to what relates to some Articles, different from your Judgment and Practice in religious Matters, the Generosity and Candour you inherit from your great Ancestors, will easily bear with me, endeavouring to vindicate my own Opinions on such an Occasion.

I hope there are few or no Errors in the Matters of Fact related, or the Dates that are assigned ; to prevent any Mistakes, I have carefully reviewed the publick Records, and my other Materials ; this
Review

Review has bro't to my Knowledge or Remembrance many Things, that were not mentioned in the Pulpit, which however it seemed ought not to be omitted.

I designed to have put all the Additions and Enlargements, in the Form of Notes for my own Ease, but have been perswaded to weave as many of them as were proper into the Body of the Discourse, as what is generally most pleasing to the Reader. I am very sensible, several Things will be tho't too minute or personal by Strangers, but the Descendants of

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the Persons concerned, and the Inhabitants of the Colony, will readily pardon me. And some other Things which are familiarly known among our selves, will be necessary to Others.

It is much to be lamented that many valuable Manuscripts of some of the first Settlers here, are so soon embezzled and lost. And it is much to be wished, that some Gentlemen of Ingenuity and Leisure, would take Pains to collect as many of these old Papers as can be found dispersed about. I am apt to think, that these, with the publick Records,

Records, would furnish Materials for a *just History* of the *Colony*.

What is here presented to your View, will by no Means supersede such a Design ; I rather hope it will stimulate Gentlemen in every Part of the Colony, to make a Search after such Papers, and more especially *now*, while the *New-England Chronology* is in Hand, composing by a *Gentleman*, above all Exceptions universally acknowledged the best versed in the History of the Country, and the most capable to give the World a just and clear Idea of all our civil

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civil and religious Affairs, and *who is* already so well furnished with Materials from every other Part of the Country.

That the most High would be pleased to bleis you with all the Blessings of Grace and Providence, together with your pious Lady and numerous Offspring, is the Prayer of

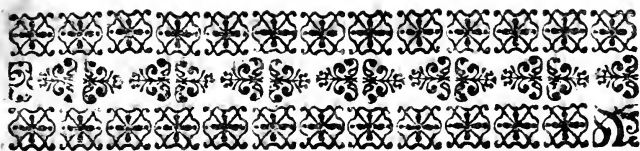
Your Honour's

most obliged

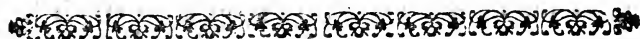
humble Servant,

*Newport on Rhode-Island,
Oclo. 27th 1738.*

John Callender.

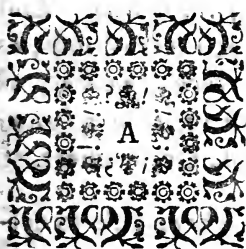


An Historical Discourse, &c.



P S A L. LXXVII. 10, 11, 12.

I will remember the Tears of the right Hand of the most High. I will remember the Work of the LORD, surely I will remember thy Wonders of old, I will meditate also of all thy Work, and talk of thy Doings.



S it is now more than a *Century*, since the Lands within the present Patent, or Charter of this Colony, began to be settled by English Men, and inhabited by Christians our Ancestors; and as *this Day* is just an *Hundred Years* since the Indian Sachems * *Miantonomy* and the ancient *Canonicus*

* The Name of this *Sachem* is usually spelt in the printed Books, *Miantonimok*, but in all the *Manuscripts*, *Myantonomy*, or *Miantonome*, or *Miantonomu*, and the Name is so pronounced by the People who take the Sound by Tradition, and not from the Books, with the Accent on the last Syllable but one

his Uncle and Guardian, signed the Grant of this Island, to *Mr. Coddington and his Friends united with him*; and as *Mr. John Clark* the Founder under GOD, and the *first Elder of this Church*, and it's *liberal Benefactor*, was a principal Instrument, in negotiating the Purchase, and Settlement of the Island, as he was likewise afterward, in obtaining and maintaining the old Patent, and procuring the present Charter; I tho't it would be but proper, to defer our Lecture, which in Course fell out on Yesterday, to this Time; and now, I propose to lay before you, such an Account as I have been able to collect, of the *Occasion and the Manner of our first Settlement*, together with a *short View, of the civil and religious History*, and the *present State of the Colony*. And then to entertain you, with such Reflections, as the Subject will suggest, and *such Remarks*, as may serve to dispose, and assist us, to a *religious Improvement* of those memorable Occurrences.

I confess the Account I have been able to collect, is very lame and imperfect, and for that Reason, I should have laid aside the Design, if I had not thought it, in Reality a Duty, to recollect and review so much as we can, of the merciful Providence of GOD, in the settling and preserving this Colony; and that *we ought to remember the Tears of the Right Hand of the most High,*

Higb, the Works of the Lord, and the Wonders of old, to meditate of his Work, and talk of his Doings.

And here in order to lay before you some Account of *the Occasion and Manner of our first Settlement*, and the Conduct of divine Providence towards us ever since ; it may be proper, previously to mention, a few Things relating to the *Settlement of NEW-ENGLAND in general.*

And that we may take Things from the Beginning, be pleased to observe that *October 12. 1492, ** this Part of the World since called *America*, before that wholly unknown to the rest, was first discovered by *Cbristopher Columbus*, a *Genoese*, in the Service of *the King of Spain*. The *Pope* soon after, generously bestowed the *new World*, on the *Spaniards*, they made many *successful Voyages*, and many great *Conquests and Settlements in the southern Parts of the new found World*. Their Success, and the immense Riches,

* Where several Writers, give the same Account, 'tis needless to quote any one in particular, as 'tis also, where the Account, is taken from a Comparison of many Authors, with one another. However, I have followed *the Dates* in the *New England Chronology*, where the most material Facts are collected, and placed in the truest Light, and the Dates fixed with the greatest Accuracy, and Exactness. The Reader will observe many Expressions marked " ". these are the very Words, of the Authorities I follow, and which I chuse to make use of as often as conveniently might be.

they carried home to *Europe*, did in Process of Time, excite other Nations, to put in for a Share with them. Among the rest the *English* (who had narrowly miss'd the Advantages of the *first Discovery*) besides their Enterprizes on the *Spaniards*, made many successive Attempts, to discover and settle in *North-America*.

In 1578 or 1579, there was a Patent granted by Queen *Elizabeth* for six Years to Sir *H. Gilbert*, to plant, and inhabit some northern Parts of *America*, unpossess'd by any Prince, with whom she had any Alliance.

March 25. 1584, Queen *Elizabeth* granted to Sir *W. Raleigh* a Patent for foreign Parts not possessed by any Christian Prince. And the same Year, he took Possession of the Country, to the westward of *Roanoke*, and called it *Virginia*, in Honour of his Mistress. He sent three several Colonies, to settle in those Parts, who all failed. As did Capt. *Gosnold* in a like Attempt, to settle, in what, is since called *New-England*, which he first discovered in 1602. And several other Attempts met with the like ill Success.

April 10 1606, King *James* divided *Virginia* into two Colonies, which were called South and North, the first between 34 and 41 Degrees North, and the last between 38 and 45, and they were
not

not to settle, within an hundred Miles of one another. By 1611 the *southern* or London Company, had made an effectual Settlement; while the *northern* or Plymouth Company were almost discouraged at their repeated Disappointments. However Judge Popham, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and others, continued their Attempts, and their Designs, till *divine Providence* began a Settlement, within their Jurisdiction, without their Knowledge or Contrivance.

It is acknowledged on all Hands, the *first Settlements of New-England*, were a Consequence of the Disputes, which attended the Reformation in *England*; and therefore we must observe, that during this Time, *viz.* 1517, Learning having revived all over *Europe*, the Reformation was begun by *Luther*, and others in *Germany*, and carried on in several Parts of *Christendom*, particularly in *England*, where, after a long Struggle, it was finally established, by *Act of Parliament*, under Queen *Elizabeth*, who began to reign *November 17. 1558.*

As the *whole Christian Religion*, had been corrupted, and disfigured by the Inventions and Impositions of Popery, in a long Course of Time, it is so far from being to be wondered at, that it could not, but be expected, that many, who were justly and equally offended, at the horrid

Corruptions

Corruptions of Popery, should yet be unable, entirely to agree in their Sentiments, of what Things were to be reformed, or how far, they should carry the Reformation at the first. And yet this, was every where, a great and unhappy *Remora* to that glorious Work, and gave their Enemies, a very considerable Advantage, which they well knew how, and failed not to improve to the utmost.

The Effects of these Divisions, and the Animosities with which they were maintained, were felt in *England*, not only, in the Beginning of the *Reformation*, but after it was established, and even ever since to this Day. Among the Reformers in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign (many of whom had been Exiles in Queen *Mary's* Persecution, and so had more Opportunity, to see and converse with the foreign Protestants) there were many, who sought to carry the Reformation, farther in some Points, than had been done in King *Edward's* Time. They sought to take away every Thing, they imagined, had the Colour of Superstition, and to make the Bible their real Rule in Worship, and Discipline, as well as in Faith. These were presently called *Puritans*, as pretending to seek a purer Church State, and a farther Reformation, than the other Party, tho't was necessary or expedient.

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Those, had not the same Exceptions, to many Things the *Puritans* scrupled ; and beside, tho't it was but good Policy, to make as few, and as little Changes and Alterations, as possible, especially in the Ceremonies, which most powerfully affect the Vulgar, in order to draw in the Bulk of the Clergy, and the Nation, to favour the other Alterations, which all of them esteemed to be, of the most Importance. And the *Queen* zealously espousing this Party, turned the Balance in their Favour, and accordingly for some Years, the whole Nation, in Effect, came to Church, tho' the Times were far from being settled.

The *Puritans*, it seems, had few or no Objections, to the *Articles of Faith*, but they chiefly, objected against the *Liturgy*, the *Ceremonies*, and the *Constitution and Discipline*. But however, they were not perfectly agreed among themselves ; while the much larger Part of them, Fathers of those since called *Presbyterians*, generally strove to keep their Places in the Church, without conforming to some of the most offensive Ceremonies, and by voluntary Agreement among themselves, sought to remedy, and supply what they tho't, was amiss or wanting, in the *parliamentary Establishment* ; others of them, Fathers of those since called *Independents* and *Congregationalists*, separated wholly from the publick Worship, in
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the Parish Churches, and sought a thorough Alteration, in the whole Form and Constitution of the *Church*, and to lay aside the Liturgy, and all the Ceremonies together.

Queen *Elizabeth* kept a watchful and jealous Eye over them all, as fearing, and being determined against all farther Alterations in religious Matters. And Subscription and Conformity, being at Times pressed harder, as the Friends to the Puritans were out of Power, some of them, especially of those called *Seperatists*, had been driven out of *England*, and at Length there was a Church of the *Independent Scheme*, formed at *Amsterdam* in *Holland*. In the Reign of King *James* (whom the *Puritans* expected, to be a Patron to them, as he had been educated in *Scotland*, and had openly censured the *Church of England*) those Things which offended them, were carried with an higher Hand. In the Years 1608 and 1609, several more of them in the *North* of *England*, removed to *Holland*, and a Number of them settled at *Leyden* under the pastoral Care of Mr. *John Robinson* (afterwards the Father of *Plymouth Colony*) in hopes, to enjoy that Liberty of their Consciences, in a strange Land, they were denied at Home.

Here they continued *eleven or twelve Years*, 'till, for many Reasons, they began to meditate

a Removal, and chose to seek an *Asylum*, somewhere in *North-America* near *Hudson's River*. They had a long and tedious Treaty, with the Southern or *Virginia Company*, who might reasonably expect, greater Sobriety, Patience, and Industry, from a People of such a Character, and in such Circumstances, and who had such Views and Designs of their own, than they had found, in such other People, as they could prevail on, to transport themselves into a Wilderness. However the Factions and Disturbances in the Company, and other Causes, delay'd the Affairs for some Time, 'till 1619, in the *Fall*, they obtain'd a Patent for the Land, but they could not obtain a legal Assurance of the Liberty of their Consciences. However they determin'd at length to remove, depending on some general Promises of Connivance, if they behaved themselves peaceably, and hoping that the Distance, and remoteness of the Place, as well as the *publick Service*, they should do the *King and Kingdom*, would prevent their being disturbed.

After encountering many Difficulties, and Discouragements, from the Nature and Circumstances of their Voyage, and from the Treachery of some of the Undertakers, they arrived at *Cape Cod* on the 9th of *November* 1620. Here they found their *Patent useless*, this Place being within

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the Bounds of the *New-England or Plymouth Company*; and yet Necessity obliged them to set down thereabout. They did therefore two Days after incorporate themselves a *Body politick*, and having made such a Search of the adjacent Country, as their Circumstances would allow, at that Time of the Year, they began their Settlement, about Christmas, at a Place, called by the *Indians*, *Patuxet*, by them named *New-Plymouth*. Infinite almost were the Hardships, and Distresses of the ensuing Winter, in which near half the Company died, for want of Necessaries. However through *the merciful Providence of GOD* they maintained their Ground, and through many Difficulties, which they overcame by Patience and the divine Blessing, they encreased to *three hundred Souls* in *nine Years* after, when they obtained a *Patent*, from the *New-England Company* the 13th of *January*, 1629,30.

In that Period, there had been many successless Attempts, to make Settlements in *New-England*, for the sake of *Trade and Husbandry only*, as if divine Providence had reserved the Place for those who soon after took Possession of it. The Success of the *Plymouth* Planters began to excite the *Puritans*, all over *England*, to meditate a Removal, to those Parts of the World, in order to enjoy the Liberty of worshipping *GOD* according to their Consciences. There was no
Ground

Ground at all left them to hope for any Condescension or Indulgence to their Scruples, but Uniformity was pressed with harder Measures than ever. A great Part of the Nation was alarmed, with the Apprehensions of *Arminianism*, and that even *Popery* itself was approaching; yea, the civil Affairs, and the Peace of the Nation, began to be embroiled and interrupted by the false Politics, and bad Councils of the unhappy Prince on the Throne; so that *New-England* began to be looked on by them, as a Place of Refuge; and it is said, that some who proved principal Actors in the Changes and Events that followed, had even determined to transport themselves here, had they not been unaccountably restrained by Authority. This is certain, the same Principles in some Persons, which had rendred their Stay, uneasy at Home, and which refused them a legal Toleration, in the Wilds of *America*, made their leaving the Kingdom, as difficult as possible. Whereas could good Policy have prevailed over Bigotry, it would have appeared a good Expedient for them, thus to clear the Kingdom of the Disaffected and Nonconformists, and with *them* make such an effectual *Plantation*, as promised a great *Addition to the Trade and Riches, and Power of the Kingdom*, and greatly enlarged its Territory.

Mr.

Mr. *White* of *Dorchester*, the Father of the *Massachusetts Colony*, encouraged Mr. *R. Cnant*, who had on Disgust, removed from *Plymouth* to *Nantasket*, to continue in the Country, with the Promise of Men, and all Things necessary for another Plantation. Whereupon this Gentleman, 1625, removed to *Cape-Ann*, and the next Year to *Naumkeak*, since called *Salem*. March 19, 1627, 8, the Council for *New-England* signed the *Massachusetts Patent*, and March 4, 1628, 9, the King confirms it by a Charter. The Nonconformists so called, are busily employed about their intended Expedition. In 1628, they send Mr. *Endicott*, with some People, to begin and prepare the Way for them, and the next Year they send Mr. *Higginson* and many more, and 1630, Governour *Winthrop*, deputy Governour *Dudley*, with the Assistants, the Charter, and 1500 People, and all Necessaries, came over and made effectual Settlements at *Charlestown*, *Watertown*, *Dorchester*, *Boston*, &c. and more of their Friends coming over to them, in the following Years, the new Settlements encreased, and prospered, notwithstanding the many Difficulties, and Hardships which must necessarily attend, the planting such a remote *Wilderness*.

As the Country was more fully discovered, the Lands on *Connecticut River*, grew so famous for their

their Fruitfulness, and Convenience to keep Cattle, that great Numbers from *New-Town, Dorchester, &c.* removed there, under the Conduct of Mr. *Hains*, Mr. *Hopkins*, Mr. *Ludlow*, and Mr. *Hooker*, &c. and thro' inexpressible Hardships, thro' Famine, and Weariness, and Perils of the Enemy, they at length settled at *Hartford* 1635 and 1636, which was the Beginning of *Connecticut Colony*, and in 1637 *New-Haven Colony*, was begun by a People directly from *England*, under the Leading of Mr. *Eaton*, and Mr. *Davenport*, &c. 'Thus the four grand Colonies of *New-England*, were begun in a few Years, and some faint Attempts likewise made to settle, in the *Eastward* Parts, in the *Province of Main*, &c. for the sake of Trade and Fishery, and by some of the People who afterwards came here. Which brings me to the more immediate Occasion of the Settlement of this Colony, and the Manner in which it was brought about, and accomplished: It is allowed by all Sides, the religious Differences among the first Settlers of the *Massachusetts Colony*, gave Rise to this Colony, and the settling of this Island.

Almost all the first Settlers of *New-England*, were Puritans. The People at *Plymouth* were generally of that Sort called *Seperatists*, and those of *Boston* generally had lived in the Communion of the *Church of England*, tho' they scrupled conforming to some of the Ceremonies. But these being

come to so great a Distance from the Bishops Power, could well enough agree in the same Forms of Worship, and Method of Discipline with the Church at *Plymouth*, and a mixt Form of Church Government was generally set up. Tho' they had seemed well enough united, by the common Zeal against the Ceremonies, yet now they were removed from the ecclesiastical Courts, with a Patent which gave them Liberty of Conscience, a Variety of Opinions, as to several Points, before not so much regarded, and perhaps not tho't of, now began to be visible, and operate with considerable Effects. It is no Wonder such Differences in Opinion, arose among them, as had been the Case before among the Protestants in general. It was the avowed Opinion of some among them of chiefest Note & Authority, (Mr. Hooker.)

“ That there were two great Reserves for En-
 “ quiry in that Age of the World, First, where-
 “ in the spiritual Rule of our Lord's Kingdom
 “ doth consist, and after what Manner it is re-
 “ vealed, managed, and maintained in the Souls
 “ of his People. The Second, After what Or-
 “ der the Government of our Lord's Kingdom is
 “ to be externally managed and maintained in
 “ his Church.” *Magnalia* B. 3. p. 66.

Notwithstanding which, the chief Leaders, and the major Part of the People, soon discovered themselves, as fond of *Uniformity*, and as
 loth

loth to allow *Liberty of Conscience* to such as differed from themselves, as those, from whose Power they had fled. Notwithstanding all their Sufferings and Complaints in *England*, they seemed incapable of mutual Forbearance, perhaps they were afraid of provoking the higher Powers at Home, if they countenanced other Sects; and perhaps those who differed from them, took the more Freedom, in venting and pressing their peculiar Opinions, from the Safety, and Protection they expected, under a *Charter*, that had granted *Liberty of Conscience*.

In Reality the *true Grounds of Liberty of Conscience*, were not then known, or embraced by any Sect or Party of Christians; all Parties seemed to think, that as *they only* were in the Possession of the Truth, so *they alone* had a Right to restrain, and crush all other Opinions, which they respectively called Error, and Heresy, where they were the most numerous, and powerful; and in other Places *they* pleaded a Title, to Liberty and Freedom of their Consciences. And yet at the same Time, all would disclaim Persecution for Conscience sake, which has something in it so unjust, and absurd, so cruel and impious, that all Men are ashamed of the least Imputation of it. A Pretence of the publick Peace, the Preservation of the Church of Christ from Infection, and the Obstinacy of the Hereticks, are always made use of, to
excuse

excuse, and justify that, which strip'd of all Disguises, and called by it's true Name, the *Light of Nature*, and the *Laws of Christ Jesus* condemn and forbid in the most plain and solemn Manner. Mr. R. *Williams*, and Mr. J. *Clark*, two *Fathers of this Colony*, appear among the first, who publickly avowed, that *Jesus Christ* is *King in his own Kingdom*, and that no Others, had Authority over his Subjects, in the Affairs of Conscience, and eternal Salvation. So that it was not singular, or peculiar in those People at the *Massachusetts*, to think themselves bound in Conscience, to use the Sword of the civil Magistrate, to open the Understandings of Hereticks, or cut them off from the State, that they might not infect the Church, or injure the publick Peace. These were not the only People, who tho't they were doing GOD good Service, when smiting their Brethren and Fellow-Servants; *all other Christian Sects* acted generally, as if they tho't this was the very best Service they could do to GOD, and the most effectual Way, to promote the Gospel of Peace, and prove themselves the true and genuine Disciples of *Jesus Christ*. — of *Jesus Christ*, who hath declared, his *Kingdom was not of this World*, who had commanded his Disciples to *call no Man Master on Earth*, who had forbidden them, to *exercise Lordship over each other's Consciences*, who had required them, to *let the Tares grow with the Wheat till the Harvest*, and who

who had in fine, given mutual Love, Peace, Long-Suffering, and Kindness, as the *Badge and Mark of his Religion.*

Mr. Roger Williams, a Minister, who came over to *Salem* 1630, had on a Disgust, removed to *Plymouth*, where he was an *Assistant to their Minister Mr. Smith for two Years.* And being disgusted likewise at *Plymouth*, returned back to *Salem*, where he was chosen by the People, to succeed Mr. Skelton in 1634, the *Magistrates* opposed his Settlement there, as they had done before. They made great Objections to his Principles, and it is said some worldly Things, helped to encrease the Animosities, that soon prevailed against him ; tho' Mr. Williams appears, by the whole Course and Tenour of his Life, and Conduct here to have been *one of the most disinterested Men that ever lived, a most pious & heavenly minded Soul.* He was charged with holding it “ unlawful for an
“ unregenerate Man to pray, or a regenerate
“ Man to pray with him.” “ That it was unlawful for the Magistrate, to meddle with the
“ Breaches of the first Table,” and that he insisted on an *unlimited Toleration*, or Liberty of Conscience ; from whence they inferred him, an *Advocate for Licentiousness, which the good Man's Soul abhorred, “ and ever disclaimed.”* However, on these Accounts, and for teaching *the Patent was sinful, (in what Sense and how truly*

is very obvious) for opposing the *Oath of Fidelity* (*not out of Disloyalty to the King, but on account of the Nature of an Oath*, which he tho't as a sacred Thing, ought not to be forced on all Men promiscuously, whether in a State of Grace, or Nature) “ and for seperating from, and re-
 “ nouncing Communion with, all the Churches
 “ in the Land, and even with his own, for not
 “ joining with him therein.” For these Things he was at length banished the Colony, as a *Disturber of the Peace of the Church and Commonwealth*; and as he says, “ a Bull of Excom-
 “ munication, was sent after him in his
 “ Absence.”

He came away to *Secunke*, since called *Rehoboth*, where he procured a Grant of Lands, from *Ousamequin*, or *Massasoiet*, the chief Sachem of *Pokanokik*. But being desired to remove from thence, which was within the Jurisdiction of *New-Plymouth*, “ he had several Treaties with
 “ *Myantonomy*, and *Canonicus*, the *Nantygansick*,
 “ or *Narraganset Sachems*, in the Years 1634 and
 “ 1635 ; who assured him he should not want
 “ for Land, for a Settlement ;” divine Providence giving him wonderfully, great Favour in the Eyes of the Sachems. And in the Spring of the Year 1634, 5, he came over the River, to a Place called by the Indians *Moskousick*, and by him named *Providence*, “ in a Sense of GOD’s
 “ merciful

“merciful Providence to him in his Distress.”

And several of his Friends following him, they planted there. The Authority and Power of *Miantonony*, awed all the *Indians* round, to assist and succour these few feeble and helpless *English Men*, thus cast out by their Brethren, in a strange Land. However, we must (to be impartial) own, that their being *English-Men*, was a real Security and Protection to them; unless the *Indians* had designed a general War. The *English* at *Massachusetts*, employ’d Mr. *Williams*, to make a League offensive and defensive with the *Narraganset* *Indians*, in the *Pequot War*, which followed in 1637. And the *Indian* *Sachems*, in one of their Confirmations of the Grants of Lands to him, * express their Gratitude, “for the many Kindnesses, and Services he had continually done for them, both with their Friends at *Massachusetts*, as also at *Quinnipituck*, and *Apaum* or *Plymouth*.” Mr. *Williams* also maintained a loving Correspondence, with many of his old Friends to the East, and was esteemed and valued by many of them; tho’ he ever opposed, and that in Print, once and again, what he called the *bloody Tenent*, i. e. every Kind and Degree of Persecution for Conscience sake. The Hardships

* The said Writing is dated *Nantigganick*, the 24th of the first Month, commonly called *March*, the second Year of our Plantation, or planting at *Moosebasick* or *Providence*.

and Distresses of these poor Exiles, are hardly to be conceived by the present Generation, who thro' the divine Goodness, have never seen any Thing like what they chearfully endured. But *divine Providence*, in which they trusted, supported them, and provided for them in their greatest Straits, and wonderfully blessed their honest Industry, so that in a few Years, they had Plenty of all Things necessary to their Subsistence and Comfort.

The Banishment of Mr. *Williams*, and the voluntary Exile of many of his Adherents, did not put an End to the unhappy Divisions, and Contentions in the *Massachusetts*. Mr. *Hains* the Governour, in 1635, did with great Difficulty, still and quiet the Storm for the present, in the Beginning of his Administration; but Mr. afterwards Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. arriving at *Boston* that Summer, and zealously falling in with the Opinions of one Party, he was by them perswaded, to tarry there, (tho' designed for *Connecticut River*) and was the next Year, 1636, *chosen Governour*, and then the Animosities and Contentions, were carried to a very great Heighth. One Side reproaching the other, as *Legalists* and under a *Covenant of Works*, &c. and the others calling them *Familists*, *Antinomians*, &c.. The next Year, Mr. *Winthrop* being rechosen Governour, with a great Struggle, he strenuously exerted himself,

himself, to crush and exterminate the Opinions, he disapproved. A *Synod* was called for that End at *New-Town* (since named *Cambridge*) on the 30th of *August*, where *Eighty erroneous Opinions*, were presented, debated, and *condemned*; and a *Court* held on the 2d of *October* following, at the same Place, banished a few of the chief Persons, among those who were aspersed with those Errors; and censured several that had been the most active, not, it seems, for their holding those Opinions, but for their pretended seditious Carriage and Behaviour; and the *Church at Boston*, likewise excommunicated at least one of her Members, not for those Opinions, but for denying they ever held them, and the Behaviour, which these Heats occasioned; and some of *these*, with *their Friends and Followers*, came to this *Island*.

Notwithstanding such a formidable Number of Errors, produced at the Synod, that which these People differed in from the others, was chiefly this, as Mr. *John Clark* has briefly represented it, viz.

“ *Touching the Covenants and in Point of evidencing*
 “ *a Man’s good Estate. Some (says he) press’d*
 “ *hard for the Covenant of Works, and for Sancti-*
 “ *fication to be the first and chief Evidence; others*
 “ (he means himself, and those who came here)
 “ *press’d as hard for the Covenant of Grace, that*
 “ *was established on better Promises, and for the*
 “ *Evidence of the Spirit, as that which is a more*
 “ *sure,*

“ sure, constant, and satisfactory Witness.” (Clark’s *Narrative Introd.*) This Account is agreeable to what there is in those Books wrote on the other Side, I have had the Opportunity to consult ; only they must be allowed, to express their own Way, their own Sentiments of the Opinions of the other Side, and they add such Shades as darken and disfigure the Opinions of the opposite Party, and set off their own to the best Advantage.

Dr. Mather, thus describes the *five Questions*, debated between the *Synod* and Mr. Cotton, (which were the same Points about which all the Divisions first began,) they were “ about
 “ the Order of Things in our Union to our Lord
 “ Jesus Christ, about the Influence of our Faith in
 “ the Application of his Righteousness, about the Use
 “ of our Sanctification, in evidencing our Justifi-
 “ cation, and about the Consideration of our Lord
 “ Jesus Christ, by Men, yet under a Covenant of
 “ Works, briefly they were the Points whereon
 “ depend, the Grounds of our Assurance for Blessed-
 “ ness in another and better World. *Mag. B. 7.*
p. 17.

Mr. Neal says, “ The Common-Wealth was
 “ almost torn in Pieces, by intestine Divisions,
 “ occasioned by the spreading familistical & an-
 “ tinomian Errors, among the People.” And
 from

from the Writers before him, he gives the Original of the Controversy, to this Purpose, “ The
 “ Members of the Church at *Boston*, used to
 “ meet once a Week, to repeat the Sermons they
 “ heard on the Lord’s-Day, and to debate
 “ on the Doctrines contained in them ; those
 “ Meetings being peculiar to the Men, *some of*
 “ *the zealous Women*, tho’t it might be useful to
 “ them. One Mrs. *Hutchinson*, a Gentlewoman
 “ of a bold and masculine Spirit, and a great
 “ Admirer of Mr. *Cotton*, set up one at her House.
 “ The Novelty of the Thing, and the Fame of
 “ the Woman, quickly gained her a numerous
 “ Audience, and from these Meetings arose all
 “ the Errors, that soon after overspread the
 “ Country.” He says she taught that Believers
 in Christ are personally united to the Spirit of
 GOD ; that Commands to work out our Salvation
 with Fear and Trembling, belong to none, but
 such as are under the Covenant of Works ; that
 Sanctification is not a good Evidence of a good
 Estate. She likewise set up, immediate Revela-
 tion about future Events, to be believed as equal-
 ly infallible with the Scriptures ; and a great
 many other *Chimeras* and *Fancies*, which (says
 he) under a Pretence of exalting the free Grace
 of GOD, destroy’d the practical Part of Religion,
 “ and open’d a Door to all sorts of Licentious-
 “ ness.” *Neal’s Hist. C. 5. p. 166.*

I shall not enter into the Merits of the Cause, there is neither Time, nor Occasion for it, only, I must observe, how each Side ascribed to the *others*, Consequences, they imagined followed from their Opinions, which *they* did not see or own. And particularly the People who came here, have Things laid to their Charge, which they utterly denied, and detested equally with their Antagonists. So harshly did their Adversaries judge of them, as even to involve in their Opinions, or the Consequences of them, a Denial of the Resurrection of the Dead, and the Life everlasting; which totally subverts and destroys Christianity, and all Religion at once, which necessarily implies a future State; when yet the whole Debate supposed the Truth of Christianity, and the Certainty of a future State; and the main Question, was about the Method in which they might best obtain an Assurance of their Interest in, and their Title to, the Inheritance of the Saints in Light. The very first of the *eighty* Errors, to be tryed in the *Synod*, doth (as I remember) charge the Denial of the Immortality of the Soul, as a Consequence of the Opinion, that the Faculties of the Soul are passive or quiescent in the Work of Conversion and Regeneration; when yet the Synod themselves, unanimously believed particular Election, and irresistible Grace.

“ The

“ The Question was, By what Evidence,
“ must a Man proceed, in taking to himself the
“ Comforts of his Justification ? The bigger Part
“ of the Country laid the first and main Stress
“ of our comfortable Evidence, on our Sanctifi-
“ cation ; but the Opinionists (says Dr. *Mather*)
“ were for another sort of Evidence, as *their*
“ Chief, namely the Spirit of GOD, by a power-
“ ful Application of a Promise, begetting in us,
“ and revealing to us, a powerful Assurance of
“ our being justified.” *Mag. B. 7. p. 14.*

Now, as the Doctor adds (even on this Way
of stating the Question, or expressing the
Sentiments of those called *Opinionists*, which
they would be far from acquiescing in, as
expressing their *full* and true Opinion) “ The
Truth might easily have united both these
“ Opinions.” But as he goes on, “ They
“ carried the Matter on to a very perrilous
“ Door, opened to many Errors and Evils,
“ yea to *threaten a Subversion of the peaceable Or-*
“ *der in Government.*” But they deny and dis-
claim the Consequences fixed on them, and jus-
tify their own Opinion and Conduct, and charge
the other Party with as fatal and mischievous
Consequences, and a Conduct arbitrary and op-
pressive.

Besides the Differences about those Points, for which these People were charged with *Antinomianism*, what was called *Familism*, was perhaps not a little offensive. Nay their Differences in Opinion were worked up to almost a State Quarrel at the last, as *Arminianism* had been in *Holland*, and *Episcopacy* was in *England* afterwards, and as the *Reformation* still is all over *Europe*. The publick Affairs of Town and Colony were affected by these Contentions, and the Governour and Assistants put in and out, as the one or the other Side prevailed. The whole People unhappily run into Factions and Parties, in such a Manner, as if Contention and every evil Work, had not been Evidences incontestable, that the Wisdom from which they proceeded could not be from Above. But so it is, where Men differ about Religion, their Contentions are usually the most sharp, and carried on with the most irreligious Heat and Animosity : Even tho' they differ about the smallest Matters, or when, as was the Case here, they differ from each other but in a very little.

A great Part of the Body of the People, and I am apt to think, at the first, the Majority of the Town of *Boston*, were of the same Side the Question with those People who afterwards came here. 'Tis certain the *Synod* and the *Court* were both held at *New-Town*, because of the Disaffection

fection of the People of *Boston*. The *Deputies of the Town*, at least some of them, openly espoused that Party. The *Town*, at least many of them, *petitioned* in their Favour. And Mr. *Cotton*, the chief Oracle then of both Town and Country, was confidently believed by them, to be of the Opinion they contended for. To which I might add the *Number of the People in that Town*, that were *censured* at the Court.

Those who came away were most of them long esteemed as Brethren of the *Church*, and never censured by the *Church* at all ; nay that *Church* did long retain some Particularities, as to the Brethren's Power in Church Affairs, and their Liberty to exercise their Gifts in private or family Meetings, and as to the Subjects of Infant Baptism. It is certain Mr. *Wheelwright*, Minister to a Branch of that Church, at a Place since called *Braintree* (where the Town had some Lands) was eager and zealous against the *Covenant of Works* ; and was banished by the Court for what was then called *Sedition*, by the same Rule which will make *every Dissent* from, or Opposition to a Majority in any *religious Affairs*, to be *Sedition*, and an Iniquity to be punished by the Judge. The minor Part must always be seditious, if it be Sedition to defend their own religious Opinions, and endeavour to confute the contrary. This Maxim once allowed must chain

Men down under Errors and Falshoods wherever they prevail, and even rivet their Chains. On this Foot, what will become of the *glorious Martyrs* for the Gospel in the first Ages of it, and the *holy Apostles*, who turned the World upside down, who turned Men from Darkness to Light, from the God's of the Nations, whom they called *Vanities*, to the living and true GOD. Nay, what shall we say of our *blessed Saviour himself*, who says he came to *send Division on Earth*. How shall we excuse the *Protestants*, nay how shall we justify the *Puritans themselves*, if it be seditious to oppose any religious Opinions we think are false or erroneous, when the major Part of the Society happen to think otherwise. I must farther add, that however Mr. *Cotton*, at the *Synod*, after long Labour with him, disowned many of the Opinions charged on these People, yet he would not condemn all the said Errors in the Gross, as the rest did, and there is some Reason to believe that he differed from the other Ministers to the last, at least in the Manner of explaining these most abstruse and difficult Points; if he did not continue to hold, that "*Union to Christ was before Faith in him, and that the Habit of Faith preceded or followed from our Justification*," which 'tis said, he once seemed to hold in the *Synod*; and which was in Reality the Root or Fountain of all the Opinions so much faulted in this People. And
however

however Mr. *Cotton* has in Print disowned them, and they are by others charged with Falshood and Calumny, in shrouding themselves under the Authority of his great Name; yet *they* who should be owned to know their own Opinions, and understand their own Expressions and Designs best, always persisted in it, that “Mr *Cotton* was with them,” or that they meant no more than they understood him to mean.

But to return-----,

The Affair was agitated in *Court* for three Days, and some changing Sides in the *Court*, the Majority was on the Side of the *Synod*, and took Measures effectually to support their own Opinions. Whereupon, many of the other Side determined to remove, for Peace sake, and to enjoy the Freedom of their Consciences. And Mr. *John Clark*, “who made the Proposal, was
“ requested with some others, to seek out a Place,
“ and thereupon by Reason of the suffocating
“ Heat of the Summer before, he went *North*,
“ to be somewhat cooler, but the Winter following proving as cold, they were forced in
“ the Spring to make towards the *South*: So having sought the Lord for Direction, they agreed, that while their Vessel was passing about
“ a large and dangerous Cape, (*Cape Cod*) they
“ would cross over by Land, having *Long-Island*
“ and

“ and *Delaware-Bay* in their Eye, for the Place
 “ of their Residence. At *Providence*, Mr. *R. Williams* lovingly entertained them, and being
 “ consulted about their Design, readily presented *two Places* before them in the *Narraganset-Bay*, the one on the *Main* called *Sow-wames*,
 (the south-easterly Part of the Neck since called *Phebe's Neck*, in *Barrington**) and *Aquet-neck*, now *Rhode-Island*.” And inasmuch as they were determined to go out of every other Jurisdiction, Mr. *Williams* and Mr. *Clark*, attended with two other Persons, went to *Plymouth* to enquire how the Case stood; they were lovingly received, and answered, that *Sowwames* was the *Garden of their Patent*. But they were advised to settle at *Aquetneck*, and promised to be looked on as free, & to be treated & assisted as loving Neighbours. (Mr. *J. Clark's Nar.*) On their Return, the 7th of *March* 1637, 8, the People to the Number of *Eighteen*, || incorporated themselves a Body

* Perhaps *Sowwames* is properly the Name of the River, where the two *Swanzey Rivers* meet and run together for near a Mile, when they empty themselves in the *Narraganset Bay*, or of a small Island, where those two first Rivers meet, at the Bottom of *New Meadow Neck*, so called.

|| Their Names are as follow, *William Coddington*, *John Clark*, *William Hutchinson*, *John Coggeshall*, *William Aspinwall*, *Samuel Wilbore*, *John Porter*, *John Sanford*, *Edward Hutchinson, jun.*, *Thomas Savage*, *William Dyre*, *William Freeborne*, *Philip Shearman*, *John Walker*, *Richard Carder*, *William Baulston*, *Edward Hutchinson sen.*, *Henry Bull*.

politick, and chose Mr. *Coddington* their Leader, to be the *Judge or chief Magistrate*. After the same Manner *Plymouth* and *Connecticut Colonies* were forced to enter into a voluntary Agreement or Covenant at the first, as having no legal Authority amongst them; the People here however immediately sought a *Patent*, and in a few Years obtained one.

Mr. R. *Williams* was very instrumental in procuring the *Island* of the *Indian Sachems*, and has left this Account in *perpetuam rei memoriam* “ It was
“ not Price or Money that could have purcha-
“ sed *Rhode-Island*, but ’twas obtained by Love,
“ that Love and Favour which that honoured
“ Gentleman, Sir *Henry Vane* and myself, had
“ with the great Sachem *Myantonomo*, about the
“ *League* which I procured, between the *Massa-*
“ *chusetts English* and the *Narragansets* in the
“ *Pequot War*. This I mention, that as the
“ truly noble Sir *Henry Vane*, hath been so
“ great an Instrument, in the Hand of GOD,
“ for procuring this *Island* of the *Barbarians*, as
“ also for the procuring and confirming the *Char-*
“ *ter*, it may be with all thankful Acknowledg-
“ ments recorded, and remembred by us, and
“ ours who reap the sweet Fruits of so great Be-
“ nefits, and such unheard of Liberties among
“ us” *Mss. of R. W.* And in another *Manuscript* he tells us, the *Indians* were very
fly

shy and jealous of selling the Lands to any, and chose rather to make a Grant of them to such as they affected, but at the same Time, expected such Gratuities and Rewards as made an Indian Gift often times a very dear Bargain. And the Colony 70 Years ago 1666 avered, that tho' the Favour Mr. Williams had with Myantonomy was the great Means of procuring the Grants of the Land, yet the Purchase had been dearer than of any Lands in New-England; the Reason of which might be, partly, the English inhabited between two powerful Nations, the Wamponoags to the North and East, who had formerly possessed some Part of their Grants, before they had surrendred it to the Narragansets, and tho' they freely own'd the Submission, yet it was tho't best by Mr. Williams, to make them easy by Gratuities, to the Sachem his Counsellors and Followers. On the other Side the Narragansetts were very numerous, and the Natives inhabiting any Spot the English sat down upon, or improved, were all to be bought off to their Content, and often times were to be paid over and over again.

On the 24th of March 1637,8, this Day an Hundred Years, the Indian Sachems signed the Deed or Grant of the Island Aquetneck, &c. and the English not only honestly paid the mentioned Gratuities, to the Sachems, but many more to the Inhabitants to remove off, as appears by the Receipts

ceipts still extant. And afterwards, at a considerable Expence, they purchased Quit-Claims, of the Heirs and Successors of the Sachems; besides they were forced to buy over again, several Parts of the first Grant. So that they came very justly by the *Soil*. And thus they describe *themselves* twenty Years after, in an Address to the supream Authority in *England* 1659; “ This *poor Colony* “ (say they) mostly consists, of a Birth, and “ Breeding of the most High. We being an “ outcast People, formerly from our Mother- “ Nation, in the Bishops Days, and since from “ the rest of the *New-Englsh* over zealous Co- “ lonies. Our whole Frame, being much like “ the present Frame, and Constitution of our “ dearest Mother *England*; bearing with the “ several Judgments, and Consciences of each “ other, in all the Towns of the Colony; which “ our neighbour Colonies do not; and which is “ the only Cause, of their great Offence, a- “ gainst us.”

The *Settlement* began immediately, at the *East-ward or Northward End of the Island*, (then called *Pocasset*,) * round the *Cove*, and the *Town* was laid

G

out

* All our Histories call the *main Land*, over against the easterly End of the Island, where is now *Tiverton*, &c. by the Name of *Pocasset*, and in the *Indian Grant* to the first Setlers, the same Place seems to be called *Powacasick*. But 'tis as evident

out at the *Spring*. And many of their Friends following them that Summer, their Number was so considerably increased, that the next Spring, some of the Heads with others, came to the *ſutbern or western End* of the Island. The *Iſland* was divided into *two Townſhips*, the *eaſtern Part* called *Portſmouth*, and the other *Newport*; and 1644, they named the Island the *Iſle of Rhodes* or *Rhode-Iſland*. Thus began the Settlement of this *Iſland and Colony*, and thro' the good Hand of our GOD upon us, we have continued to this Day. GOD has blessed and prospered the People, in their Labours, and preſerved to them their Priviledges, for the ſake of which they followed him into the Wilderneſs.

And now having ſeen ſomething of the Occaſion, and Manner of our firſt Settlement, let us take a *ſhort View of the Hiſtory, and preſent State of the Colony*.

dent in our Records, that the eaſtern End of the Island, is called by the ſame Name; perhaps it I may be indulged a Conjecture, the Name, properly belonged, to the *Strait* in the *River or Bay*, at the eaſtern End of the Island, where is now *Howland's Ferry*, and the Lands on both Sides might be called *Pccaſſet*, till the *Engliſh* Name of *Portſmouth* for the eaſterly End of the Island prevailed, when the *Indian* Name *Pocaſſet* might became confin'd to the main Land, which was not ſetled by the *Engliſh* for many Years after. 'Tis certain every remarkable Strait, or Fall in a River, had a Name among the *Indians*, as well as every *Point* of Land in the Bay. A Knowledge of the Meaning of the *Indian Words*, would decide all ſuch Diſputes.

And

And here in the first Place, as to the inhabiting the other Lands, and erecting the other Towns now within our Bounds.----At the same Time the Island was inhabited, a Number of the Providence People, Mr. *Arnold*, &c. sat down at *Patuxet*, a Place adjoining, and within their Grant. They were encouraged by the *Meadows*, on the River, which were every where an Inducement, to People to settle themselves, as they immediately furnished Food for their Cattle in the Winter.

In 1642,3, on the 12th of *January*, *Shawomet*, or *Mishawomet*, since called *Warwick*, was purchased of *Myantonomo*; *Pomham* the petty Sachem consenting to the Sale or Grant, tho' he afterwards denied it. The Grant was made to *Randal Holden*, *John Wickes*, *Samuel Gorton*, *John Greene*, *Francis Weston*, *Richard Waterman*, *John Warner*, *Richard Carder*, *Samson Shotton*, *Robert Potter*, *William Woodeal*.

Here it may be proper, to take some Notice of the religious Opinions of Mr. *Gorton*, whose Followers were called *Gortonists*, or *Gortonians*, holding some Things peculiar to themselves, and different from all the other People in *New-England*.

He came to *Rhode-Island* in *June* 1638, where he tarried 'till 1639,40, that he was on some Contentions banished the Island. Thence he

went to *Providence*, where many of the People growing uneasy at his planting and building at *Patuxet*, and complaining to the *Massachusetts-Government* in 1642, he was summoned to appear before their Court, which he despised. But however he purchased this Tract of the *Indians*, and removed there with his Friends. But new Complaints soon went to *Boston* from some of the *English*, and *Pembam* and *Socononoko* petty Sachems of the *Indians*, who it seems, were willing to take Advantage of the Protection of the *Massachusetts-English*, to revolt from their Subjection to *Myantonomy*, as *Massasoit* had done before, by Means of the *Plymouth-English*. Hereupon Mr. *Gorton* and his Friends being summoned to Court, he refused to obey, as out of the Jurisdiction, both of *Boston* and *Plymouth*, who both sought to stretch their Bounds, to have taken him in. The Government at length, sent up a Company of armed Men, who after a fruitless Treaty, made him and his Friends Prisoners, except a few who escaped by Flight. They were carried to *Boston*, and after a Tryal in their Court, condemned, to be confined in a severe, and even a scandalous Manner, in several Towns, for the Winter, and in the Spring banished the Colony. They came to *Rhode-Island*, and fearing to be again troubled, the *Massachusetts* seeking a Patent of some of the *Narraganset* Country, they procured an actual and solemn Submission of the Sachems to

King

King Charles, on the 19th of August 1644, and Messrs. Gorton, Greene, and Holden, went to England, and obtained an Order, to be suffered peaceably to possess their Purchase. And the Lands fore-mentioned, being incorporated in the * *Province of Providence Plantations* ; They returned & carried on their Improvements, naming their Purchase *Warwick*, in Honour to the *Earl of Warwick*, who gave them his friendly Protection.

What Mr. Gorton's religious Opinions really were, is now as hard to tell, as 'tis to understand his most *mysterious Dialect*, for there are sufficient Reasons, why we ought not and cannot believe, he held all that are confidently fathered upon him. For 'tis certain that whatever impious Opinions, his Adversaries imputed to him, and whatever horrid Consequences *they drew*, from the Opinions he owned ; he ascribed as bad to them, and fixed as dreadful Consequences on their Tenets ; and at the same Time, in the most solemn Manner, denies and disavows many Things they charge him with ; above all, when he is charged with denying a future State, and the Judgment to come, both in Theory and in Practice ; he peremptorily, and vehemently denies the Charge, and solemnly appeals to GOD, and all that knew

* They sometimes called themselves the *Colony*, sometimes the *Province of Providence Plantations*, and sometimes the *Colony or Province*.

him, of the Integrity of his Heart, and the Purity of his Hands; and avers, that he always joins Eternity with Religion, as most essential. And that the Doctrine of the *general Salvationists*, was the Thing which his Soul hated.) *Mss. Letter in Ans. to Mr. Morton's Memorial.*)

In an Address to King *Charles II.* 1679, he disowns the *Puritans*, and most unaccountably says, he sucked in his peculiar Tenets, "from the Breasts of his Mother, the Church of *England*." He strenuously opposed the Doctrines of the People called *Quakers*. I am informed that *he* and his *Followers*, maintained a religious Meeting, on the first Day of the Week, for above sixty Years, and that their Worship consisted of Prayers to GOD, of Preaching, or expounding the Scriptures, and singing of Psalms. He lived to a great Age. He was of a good Family in *England*, and says he made use of the *learned Languages* in expounding the Scriptures to his Hearers.

About 1642,3, there were *two trading Houses*, set up in the *Narraganset Country*; one by Mr. *Wilcox*, and Mr. *R. Williams*, the other by Mr. *Richard Smith*, and some few *Plantations* made near them, on particular Grants or Purchases of the Indians, but not very many 'till 1657: When several Gentlemen on the *Island*, and *elsewhere*, made a considerable Purchase, called the

the *Petaquamscut Purchase*. And the same Year there was a Purchase of the Island of *Canonicut*, as the smaller Islands had been purchased before.

In 1665, *Misquamicut* was purchased of the Indians, and it was granted a Township by the Name of *Westerly*, 1669. In 1672 *Maniffes* called *Block-Island*, was made a Township, by the Name of *New-Shoreham*. In 1674 the Inhabitants at *Petaquamscut* and Parts adjacent, had their Lands incorporated, a Township by the Name of *Kingston*. And in 1677 the Town of *East-Greenwich* was incorporated, and 1678 *Canonicut* Island, or rather *Quononoquot*, was incorporated a Township by the Name of *James-Town*. In 1722, the Lands properly called *Narraganset*, were divided into the two Townships of *North and South-Kingston*. In 1729 the whole Colony was divided into three Counties, for the Ease of the Inhabitants. And 1730 the Town of *Providence* was divided into the four Towns of *Providence, Smithfield, Gloucester, and Scituate*. The whole Land being filled with Inhabitants, partly by the coming in of some few from other Places, but chiefly by the natural Increase of the first Setlers. * In the foresaid Year 1730, there

* In 1738 the Town of *Westerly* is divided, and the easterly Part of it, erected into a Township, by the Name of *Charles-Town*, which may be to the Honour of King *Charles the II.* who granted us, our present *Charter*.

was by the King's Order, an exact Account taken of the Number of Souls in the Colony, † and they were found to be no less, than *Seventeen Thousand Nine Hundred and Thirty Five*, of which no more than *Nine Hundred and Eighty Five*, were *Indians*, and *One Thousand Six Hundred and Forty Eight*, *Negroes*. So that the *English* in all were *Fifteen Thousand Three Hundred and two*.

Some of the principal Persons, who came at first to this Island, removed again in a little Time, some to *Long Island* for larger Accommodations, some to *Massachusetts* again, where three * of those Families, have made a very considerable Figure, ever since to this Day. A considerable Number likewise, removed to the other Towns in this Colony, and many settled in the Parts ad-

† The said Account was taken before *Providence Township* was divided. The whole Account is this,

	<i>Whites.</i>	<i>Negroes.</i>	<i>Indians.</i>
<i>Newport,</i>	3843	649	148
<i>Providence,</i>	3707	128	81
<i>Portsmouth,</i>	643	100	70
<i>Warwick,</i>	1028	77	73
<i>Westerly,</i>	1620	56	250
<i>North Kingston,</i>	1875	165	65
<i>South Kingston,</i>	965	333	223
<i>East Greenwich,</i>	1149	40	54
<i>James-Town,</i>	222	80	19
<i>New Shoreham,</i>	250	20	20
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	15302	1648	985

* *Flutckirson, Dummer, Savage,*

ja-cent,

jacent, that are within the Colony of *Plymouth*. Nevertheless in 1730 the Inhabitants of the *whole Island* were *Five Thousand four Hundred and Fifty Eight*, and of this Town *Four Thousand six Hundred and Forty*, who are no doubt by this Time increased to *Five Thousand Souls*. The Trade and Business of the Town at the first, was but very little, and inconsiderable, consisting only of a little *Corn* and *Pork* and *Tobacco*, sent to *Boston*, for a few *European* and other Goods, they could not subsist without, and all at the Mercy of the Traders there too. * At present there are *above one Hundred* Sail of Vessels belonging to this Town, besides what belong to the *rest of the Colony*. GOD grant, that as we increase in Numbers and Riches, we may not increase in Sin and Wickedness; but that we may rather be lead, by the divine Goodness, to reform whatever may have been amiss or wanting among us.

As to the *Form of Government* we have passed under, it must be observed, the Government has

* Perhaps it may be agreeable to some Persons, to observe, that about 1660, and many Years after, *Provision Pay* was 100 per Cent. beneath *Sterling Money*. In 1687 the Prices of Goods set to pay Taxes in, were, *Wool* 8 d per Pound, *Butter* 4 d *Indian Corn* 13 6 d per Bushel. If the Tax was paid in Money, then there was to be an Allowance or Abatement of one sixth Part, and that perhaps will nearly give the true current Price, of those Kinds of Provisions, at that Time.

been always more or less *democratical*. At the first *Incorporation* on the Island, the People chose a Judge to do Justice and Judgment, and preserve the publick Peace; and towards the latter End of the Year, on the second Day of the eleventh Month, they added three Gentlemen as *Assistants* to him in his Office. ‡ And soon after appointed all, to take the Oath of Allegiance to the King, according to the Statute. In 1640 they voted, the chief Magistrate should be called *Governour*, the next *Deputy Governour*, and four Gentlemen chosen out of the two Towns, *Assistants*. Their Names were *W. Coddington* Governour, *W. Brenton* Deputy Governour, *N. Easton*, *J. Coggeshall*, *W. Hutchinson*, *J. Porter*, Assistants. The next Year *R. Harding*, was in Mr. *Easton's* Place, and Mr. *W. Baulston* in the Room of Mr. *Hutchinson*, (who perhaps removed) and the next Year Mr. *Easton* was chosen Assistant again, and those six * Gentlemen, held their Offices, 'till the *Patent of Incorporation*.

At *Providence*, all new Comers promised “ to submit themselves in active or passive Obedience, to all such Orders, and Agreements,

‡ The three Elders were *Nicholas Easton*, *John Coggeshall*, and *William Brenton*.

* The Six Gentlemen were *W. Coddington* Governour, *W. Brenton* Deputy Governour, *N. Easton*, *J. Coggeshall*, *W. Baulston*, and *J. Porter*, Assistants.

“ as shall be made for publick Good of the Body,
 “ in an orderly way, by major Consent of the
 “ Inhabitants,”‡ but this being insufficient, 27th
 Day 5th Mo. 1640, they did to the Number of
 near 40 Persons, *Combine* in a Form of civil Go-
 vernment, according to a Model drawn up by
 some of themselves, as most suitable to promote
 Peace and Order in their present Circumstances;
 which however left them in a very feeble Con-
 dition.

But all the Inhabitants in the *Narraganset-Bay*,
 being *without a Patent*, and any legal Authority,
 1643 Mr. R. Williams, went to *England as Agent*,
 and by the Help and Assistance of Sir Henry Vane,
 jun. obtained of the *Earl of Warwick* (appointed
 by Parliament Governour & Admiral of all the
 Plantations) *and his Council*, “ a free and absolute
 “ Charter of civil Incorporation, by the Name
 “ of the Incorporation of *Providence Plantations*
 “ in the *Narraganset-Bay* in *New-England* ; ”
 impowring them “ to rule themselves, and such

‡ The first twelve Persons who came to Mr. Williams, and
 therefore had, by vertue of his Conveyance, some Prero-
 gative with him, in the Divisions &c. of the Land, were
William Arnold, John Greene, John Throgmorton, Thomas
Jam's, William Harris, Thomas Olney, Richard Waterman,
Francis Weston, Ezekiel Holliman, Robert Cole, Stukeley West-
coat, and William Carpenter Soon after came to them *Chad.*
Browne, Wm. Fairfield, J. Warner, E. Angel, J. Windsor, R.
Scott, Wm. Reynolds, Wm Wickenden, Gregory Dexter, &c.&c.
 most of whose Names remain in a numerous Posterity.

“ as should inhabit within their Bounds, by such
 “ a Form of civil Government, as by the volun-
 “ tary Agreement of all, or the greater Part,
 “ shall be found most serviceable, in their Estate
 “ and Condition ; and to make suitable Laws,
 “ agreeable to the Laws of *England*, so far as
 “ the Nature and Constitution of the Place will
 “ admit, &c. ” — It was dated 17th of *March*,
 19^b *Charles*, i. e. 1643, 4. but it don't appear
 how long it was, before Mr. *Williams* brought it
 over. It is not to be wondred at, if it took them
 some Time to agree in a Method.

In 1647 *May* 19th, a General Assembly of the
 Province (as then called) established a *Body of*
very good and wholesome Laws, agreeable to the
English Statute Book ; and erected a *Form of civil*
Government for the Administration of the Laws,
 and the making such other, as should be found
 necessary. The *supreme Power* was left in the
 Body of the People, assembled in an orderly
 way ; a *Court of Commissioners*, consisting of six
 Persons, chosen by each of the four Towns of
Providence, Portsmouth, Newport, & Warwick, had
 a *Legislative Authority*, at least, their Acts were
 to be in Force, unless repealed within a limited
 Time, by the Vote of the major Part of the Free-
 men of the Province, to be collected at their
 respective Town Meetings appointed for that End.

A President & four Assistants were chosen yearly, to be Conservators of the Peace, with all civil Power, and by a special Commission, they were Judges of the Court of Tryals, assisted by the *two Wardens* or Justices of the particular Town, in which the Court sat from Time to Time.

Every Town chose a *Council of six Persons*, to manage their Town Affairs, and their Town Court, had the Tryal of small Cases, but with an Appeal to the *Court of the President & Associates*.

This Form of Government subsisted till 1651, when there were some Obstructions to it, by a Commission granted from *the Council of State*, to the principal Inhabitant of the Island, to govern the Island, with a Council chosen by the People, and approved by himself. But the People thinking it, "a Violation or Incroachment on their Liberties, and Purchases, as granted and secured by Charter"; immediately dispatched Mr. R. Williams and Mr. J. Clark to England, as their Agents, and they easily procured an Order from the *Council of State*, to vacate or suspend the Commission. This Order is dated 2d of October 1652, but by Reason of some Misunderstandings between the four Towns, it was a Year or two before they returned to their old Plan, which then lasted to the present Charter.

In

In 1663 July 8. Charles 2d. granted an ample Charter, whereby the Province was made “a Body
 “Corporate and Politick, in Fact & Name, by
 “the Name of the Governour and Company of
 “*the English Colony of Rhode-Island and Providence*
 “*Plantations in New-England in America.*” This
 CHARTER we enjoy to this Day, thro’ the merciful Providence of GOD. And as every one knows, the Form of Government established in it, I need say but little about it. The Governour, the Deputy Governour, and ten Assistants chosen yearly by the Freemen, on the first Wednesday in May, have the Administration of the Government in their Hands; and together with thirty six Deputies, † chosen half yearly by the several Towns, make up the General Assembly; which is the highest Court in the Colony, and our Legislature: impowred to make Laws as to them shall seem meet, for the Good and Welfare of the said Company--
 “so as such Laws be not contrary and repugnant
 “unto, but as near as may be, agreeable to the Laws
 “of England, considering the Nature & Constitutions
 “of the Place and People there.”

This Assembly meets twice a Year by Charter, on Election Day, and the last Wednesday of October.

† The Town of Charlestown being erected since this was prepared for the Press, the Number of Deputies is now Thirty Eight.

The first, by Law is held at *Newport*, and the last at *Providence & South-Kingston* alternately. The Governour has no negative Voice, and the major Vote of the whole Assembly in one House, determines in the Choice of civil or military Officers, but in the passing Laws the Assembly sits in two Houses.

It would be too tedious, to give a particular Account of all the repeated Attempts, and Stratagems made use of, to wrest the Jurisdiction and Propriety of a considerable Part of the Lands within our Patent from the Colony.

Therefore I proceed to say,

When Col. *Dudley* was appointed *President* of the *Massachusetts*, the *Narraganset* Country, called then *King's Province*, was included in his Commission. In 1685 *October 6.* a *Writ of Quo Warranto*, was issued out against the Colony, which was brought here *June 26.* 1686, by *Ed. Randalph*, Esq; whereupon the Free Inhabitants, especially of the chief Towns, met at *Newport* on the 29th, and gave in their Opinion to the General Assembly, and left "the further Proceeding to the judicious Determination of the Assembly." The Assembly upon serious Consideration, published and declared, that they determined, not to "stand Suit with His Majesty, but to proceed, by
humble

“ *humble Address to His Majesty to continue their Priviledges & Liberties according to the Charter;* ” and they accordingly sent home an Address to the King, who by his Answer promised them Protection, and Favour. However the Colony was put under the Government of Sir *Ed. Andross*, and “ suffered with others, several Hardships, and severe Impositions.”

The Reasons why the Assembly chose not to stand Suit with the King, were partly “ *their Poverty*, and Inability to bear the Expence of such “ a Law-Suit in *England*, and partly *the Example* “ of the many Corporations in *England*, which “ had in the like Case surrendered their Charters,” and perhaps the secret Hope they should find more Favour with the King, by this way of Proceeding, was the principal Motive.

January 12. 1686, 7. Sir *Edmund Andross's* Commission to be Governour of this Colony, with the rest of *New England*, was published here, and the Colony made one County, and governed by civil Officers under him.

After the *Revolution in England*, there was a General Assembly of the Freemen of the Colony at *Newport*, May 1. 1689, who agreed “ that since Sir *Ed. Andross* was seized and confined with others of his Council (at *Boston*) and “ his

“ his Authority silenced and deposed, it was their
“ Duty, to lay hold of their *former Charter Priviledges* ; and avowedly professing all Allegiance to the *Crown of England*, they replaced all the general Officers that had been displaced three Years before. But some of the Gentlemen afterwards declining to act by this Authority, a general Assembly called *February 20* following, elected others in their Room. And there having been no Judgment against the Charter, the Government allowed of the resuming it, and thro’ the divine Goodness, and the Clemency, Justice, and Prudence of our Princes, it has been continued ever since. GOD grant, we may never forfeit nor lose our precious and invaluable Liberties and Priviledges ; and that we may ever use them with Prudence and Discretion, with Gratitude to GOD, the Governour of the World ; and with Loyalty to the Crown !

It is now more than Time for me to lay before you, *some Account of our religious Affairs.*

It is a Pitty we cannot intirely confute *all the opprobrious Things*, which *some* have written of *some* of the Inhabitants. I am satisfied a great many of them were wholly groundless, many others very much aggravated, and misrepresented, and some Things made to be Reproaches, which in Reality were Praise-worthy,

I take it to have been no Dishonour to the Colony, that Christians, of every Denomination, were suffered to lead quiet and peaceable Lives, without any Fines, or Punishments for their speculative Opinions, or for using those external Forms of Worship, they believed GOD had appointed, and would accept. Bigots may call this Confusion, and Disorder, and it may be so, according to their poor worldly Notions of Religion, and the Kingdom of Christ. But the pretended Order of humane Authority, assuming the Place and Prerogatives of JesusChrist, and trampling on the Consciences of his Subjects, is, as Mr. R. *Williams* most justly calls it, “ monstrous Disorder.”

Tho’ it be very certain, that a publick Worship of GOD, is very necessary event to civilize Mankind, who would be likely to loose all Sense of Religion without it ; yet it will not follow, that the civil Magistrate, as such, has Authority to appoint the Rites of Worship, and constrain all his Subjects to use them, much less to punish them for using any other. What has been forever the Consequences, of his pretending to such Authority, and using his Power to support it ? What Glory doth it bring to GOD, and what Good can it do to Men, to force them to attend a Worship they disapprove ? It can only make them Hypocrites, and GOD abhors such Worshipers.

Not-

Notwithstanding our Constitution left every one to his own Liberty, and his Conscience; and notwithstanding the Variety of Opinions that were entertained, and notwithstanding some may have contracted, too great an Indifference to any social Worship, yet I am well assured, there scarce ever was a Time, the hundred Years past, in which there was not a weekly publick Worship of GOD, attended by Christians, on this Island, and in the other first Towns of the Colony.

It is no ways unlikely, some odd, and whimsical Opinions may have been broached, the Liberty enjoyed here, would tempt Persons distressed for their Opinions in the neighbouring Governments, to retire to this Colony as an Asylum. It is no ways unlikely, that some Persons of a very different Genius, and Spirit from the first Settlers, might intrude themselves, and use this Liberty as an Occasion to the Flesh; but the first Set of Men who came here, were a pious Generation, Men of Vertue and Godliness, notwithstanding their Tincture of Enthusiasm, which was not peculiar to them; and notwithstanding their peculiar Opinions of Justification, and the Nature, and Rights, of the Christian Church. They had not so many great and wise Men among them, perhaps, as were in some of the other Colonies; but their whole Number was very small;

I 2 in

in Comparison with the other Colonies : Nevertheless they had some very considerable Men, and of superiour Merit. It is true likewise, their Form of Government was too feeble, their *first Patent* left them without sufficient Authority in their civil Officers, to check any popular Humours ; but yet, they did, and that as early as the *Massachusetts* Colony, form a Body of good Laws, by which all Vice, and every Immorality, was discouraged or punished. And throughout the whole History of the *Island and Colony*, there is manifestly, an *Aim and Endeavour*, to prevent or suppress all Disorders and Immoralities, and to promote universal Peace, Vertue, Godliness, and Charity.

I do not pretend to defend all the Opinions, that were entertained by any of them ; much less all the extravagant Notions, that were unjustly ascribed to some of them ; nor yet to justify every Word, or Action, that might be the Effect of heated Zeal, or raised Indignation and Resentment. That Man, who will go about to justify, or condemn a Party, in the Gross, and without Distinction, shall never be approved or imitated by me, much less can it be expected, I should defend all the Opinions of so many different religious Parties, as were here united in civil Peace. However, I dare say it after Mr. *J. Clark*, that “ notwithstanding the different
“ Consciences

“ Consciences and Understandings among them;
 “ they agreed to maintain *civil Justice and Judg-*
 “ *ments*, neither were there such Outrages com-
 “ mitted among them, as in other Parts of the
 “ Country were frequently seen.” (*Clark’s Nar.*
Introd.) And I bear them Witness, they had a
Zeal for GOD: If it were not according to Know-
 ledge in every Article, yet they lay open to In-
 struction, desirous to find out and discover the
 whole Mind and Will of GOD; which cannot
 so truly be said of all Places, where yet Men are
 not more infallible. If there were any of them,
 who made Shipwrack of Faith and a good Con-
 science, perhaps it would be as easy, as it would be
 invidious, to find Parallels enough in other
 Places, to shew there are other dangerous Rocks,
 besides Liberty of Conscience. It is an unac-
 countable Humour, that has prevailed among
 too many christian Sects, to make Religion, and
 the Gospel consist, in their own peculiar and dis-
 tinguishing Tenets, which would almost tempt
 an impartial Man, to think it ought rather to
 consist, in those Things, wherein they are most
 generally agreed, and conclude in the Words of
 the excellent Dr. Cotton Mather, “ The Period
 “ hastens for a *new Reformation*, wherein ’tis
 “ likely none of our *very best Parties*, will be in
 “ all Things, the Standard of what shall prevail
 “ in the World, but our holy Lord will form a
 “ new People, of those good Men that shall u-
 “ nite

“ nite in the Articles of their Goodness, and
 “ sweetly bear with one another in their lesser
 “ Differences.” (*Good Men united.* p. 26, 7.)

It must be a mean contracted Way of thinking, to confine the Favour of GOD, and the Power of Godliness, to one Set of speculative Opinions, or any particular external Forms of Worship. How hard must it be, to imagine, all other Christians, but our selves, must be formal, and hypocritical, and destitute of the Grace of GOD, because their Education or Capacity differs from ours, or that GOD has given them more or less Light than to us, tho' we can't deny, they give the proper Evidence, of their fearing GOD, by their working Righteousness ; and shew their Love to him, by keeping what they understand, he has commanded ; and tho' their Faith in *Christ Jesus*, purifies their Hearts, and works by Love, and overcomes the World. It would be hard to shew, why Liberty of Conscience, mutual Forbearance, and Good Will, why brotherly Kindness and Charity, is not as good a Center of Unity, as a constrain'd Uniformity in external Ceremonies, or a forced Subscription to ambiguous Articles. Experience has dearly convinced the World, that Unanimity in Judgment and Affection, can't be secured by penal Laws. Who can tell, why the Unity of the Spirit in the Bonds of Peace, is not enough for Christians to aim at ?

And

And who can assign a Reason, why they may not love one another, tho' abounding in their own several Senses? And why, if they live in Peace, the GOD of Love and Peace, may not be with them ?

Indulgence to tender Consciences, might be a Reproach to the Colony, an hundred Years ago, but a better Way of thinking prevails in the Protestant Part of the christian Church at present. It is now a Glory to the Colony, to have avowed such Sentiments so long ago, while Blindness in this Article, happened in other Places, and to have led the Way as an Example to others, and to have first put the Theory into Practice.

Liberty of Conscience, is more fully established and enjoyed now, in the other *New-Englisk Colonies* ; and our *Mother-Kingdom*, grants a legal Toleration, to all peaceable and conscientious Dissenters from the parliamentary Establishment. Greater Light breaking into the World, and the Church, and especially, all Parties by Turns, experiencing, and complaining aloud of the Hardships of Constraint, they are come to allow as reasonable to all others, what they want and challenge for themselves. And there is no other Bottom but this to rest upon, to leave others the Liberty we should desire ourselves, the Liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free. This is doing

doing as we would be done by, the grand Rule of Justice and Equity ; this is leaving the Government of the Church to Jesus Christ, the King and Head over all Things, and suffering his Subjects to obey and serve him.

But to take Things in their Order, Mr. *R. Williams* is said, in a few Years after his settling at *Providence*, to have embraced the Opinions of the People called (by Way of Reproach) *Anabaptists*, in Respect to the Subject and Mode of Baptism ; and to have formed a Church there, in that Way, with the Help of one Mr. *Ezekiel Holliman*, * and that after a while he renounced these Opinions likewise, and turned *Seeker*, (i. e.) to wait for new Apostles, to restore Christianity. He believed the Christian Religion, to have been so corrupted and disfigured in what he called the “ *Apostacy*, as that there was no Ministry of an ordinary Vocation left in the Church, but Pro-

* Since this was transcribed for the Press, I find some Reasons to suspect, that Mr. *Williams* did not form a Church of the *Anabaptists*, and that he never join'd with the *Baptist Church* there. Only, that he allowed them to be nearest the Scripture Rule, and true primitive Practice, as to the Mode and Subject of Baptism. But that he himself waited for new Apostles, &c. The most ancient Inhabitants now alive, some of them above eighty Years old, who personally knew Mr. *Williams*, and were well acquainted with many of the original Setlers, never heard that Mr. *Williams* formed the Baptist Church there. but always understood that Mr. *Browne*, Mr. *Wickenden* or *Wiginton*, Mr. *Dexter*, Mr. *Olney*, Mr. *Tillinghast*, &c. were the first Founders of that Church.

phesy," and that there was need of a special Commission, to restore the Modes of positive Worship, according to the original Institution. It don't appear to me, that he had any Doubt of the true Mode, and proper Subjects of Baptism, but, that no Man had any Authority, to revive the Practice, of the sacred Ordinances, without a new and immediate Commission. It is also said (*Neale.*) "That his Church hereupon " crumbled to Peices, every one following his " own Fancy, and the Worship of GOD came " to be generally neglected." But I believe this to be a Mistake in Fact, for it certainly appears, there was a flourishing Church of the Baptists there, a few Years after the Time of the supposed breaking to Pieces ; and 'tis known by the Names of the Members, as well as by Tradition, they were some of the first Setlers at *Providence* ; however, 'tis possible some of his Followers, might embrace his *new Opinions*. Mr. *Williams* used to uphold a publick Worship, sometimes, tho' not weekly, as many now alive remember, and he used to go once a Month, for many Years, to Mr. *Smith's* in the *Narraganset*, for the same End.

There was no Reason, to lay aside the Use of the sacred Institutions of *Jesus Christ*, because they had been perverted, for surely the Disciples of *Jesus Christ*, must of Necessity have an inherent Right, to revive, or rectify, any of his Or-

dinances that have been misused. The *Protestants* in general have done so, by both *Sacraments*, which they have all of them rescued from some or other of the *Corruptions of Popery*. And why they may not be as well rescued from every *Corruption*, as from some, and why *Christians* may not revive the true Form of administering *Baptism*, as well as the *Supper*, is hard to tell, unless we make a Charm of the Institution. So long as we have the *New-Testament*, wherein the *original Commission and Instructions* are contained, we can want no immediate Warrant, to obey the general Laws of *Christ*, any more than a new Revelation, and new Miracles, to justify our believing the old Facts and Doctrines of the Gospel. The Bible contains the Religion of *Christians*, and the Word of GOD is a sufficient Rule of Faith and Worship. Had Mr. *Williams* adhered to this Maxim, the Maxim of the *Protestants*, and more especially of the *Puritans*, he might have continued an *Anabaptist* all his Days, as 'tis said he was more inclinable to them, in his latter Time.

Bishop *Sanderson* says, (*Veneer on the thirty nine Articles*, p. 655.) That “ the Rev. Arch-Bishop
 “ *Whitgift*, and the learned *Hooker*, Men of great
 “ Judgment, and famous in their Times, did
 “ long since foresee, and declare their Fear, that
 “ if ever *Puritanism* should prevail among us, it
 “ would

“ would soon draw in *Anabaptism* after it, ----
 “ This *Cartwright* and the *Disciplinarians* denied,
 “ and were offended at.---- But these good Men
 “ judged right, they considered only as prudent
 “ Men, that *Anabaptism* had it's Rise, from the
 “ same Principles the *Puritans* held, and it's
 “ Growth from the same Course, they took ; to-
 “ gether with the natural Tendency, of their
 “ Principles and Practices toward it ; especially
 “ that ONE PRINCIPLE, as it was then by
 “ them misunderstood, that the *Scripture was a-*
 “ *dequata agendorum regula*, so as nothing might
 “ be lawfully done, without express Warrant,
 “ either from some *Command or Example* therein
 “ contained ; which Clue, if followed as far as
 “ it would go, would certainly in 'Time carry
 “ them as far as the *Anabaptists* had then gone.”

This I beg Leave to look on as a most glorious
 Concession, of the most able Adversaries. One
 Party contend, that the *Scripture* is the adequate
 Rule of Worship, and for the necessity of some
 Command or Example there ; the other Party,
 say this leads to *Anabaptism*. It seems very re-
 markable, that the *Puritans*, at least some of the
Puritans, put the *Baptism of Infants*, and the *ad-*
ministring Baptism by Sprinkling, on a different
 Foot from many of the other Party. It was one
 grand Reason of the *Plymouth* People's Discon-
 tent in *Holland* that the *Dutch* would not reform

the Custom of baptising indifferently, the Children of all Persons that had been themselves baptised in Infancy. And it was once a great Complaint, against *New England*, that the Children only of visible Church Members, were admitted to *Baptism*. Nor did the general Way of baptising the Grand-Children of the Covenant, or the Infants of such as do, what is called (*owning the Covenant*) (*a Phrase and Way peculiar perhaps to New England;*) take Place, without a very great and long Struggle : perhaps it don't yet universally prevail. When the first Principles, & Practice of *New England* are inquired into, and compared together, and with those that prevailed forty Years after ; it will be found no great wonder, if a Person (and there have been such Persons) who heard the unanswerable Argument, with which some *Pædo-baptists* prove the Infants of those who are not Members of some visible Church, are not to be baptised ; and the like powerful Arguments, with which others, prove that other Infants have an equal Right and Claim with the Infants of Church Members ; I say, it would be no wonder, if such a Person should believe them both, and conclude in the Words of the late excellent Dr. C. Mather on a like Occasion, “ that R E G E N E R A T I O N is the Thing, without which, a Title unto Sacraments, is not to be pretended. That real Regeneration, is that which before GOD, renders Men capable of claiming Sacraments ; and visible

ble or expressed Regeneration, is that which before Men, enables them to make such a Claim".
(*Comp. for Comm.* p. 31.)

But to return, about the Year 1653 or 54, there was a Division in the *Baptist Church*, at *Providence*, about the Rite of laying on of Hands, which some pleaded for as essentially necessary to Church-Communion, and the others would leave indifferent. Hereupon they walked in two Churches, one under Mr. C. Browne, Mr. Wickenden, &c. the other under Mr. Thomas Olney; * but laying on of Hands at length generally obtained.

It is remarkable, that the Principles of a too rigid Separation, planted by Mr. Williams, have taken a deep Root, while some other of his darling Opinions are almost withered away. That Church which was distinguish'd by holding laying on of Hands, necessary to all baptized Persons, came in Time, generally to hold universal Redemption!

This Church shot out into divers Branches, as the Members increased, and the Distance of their Habitations made it inconvenient to attend the publick Worship in the Town; several Meetings

* This last continued 'till about 20 Years since, when becoming destitute of an Elder, the Members were united with other Churches. At present there is some Prospect of their Re establishment in Church Order.

were thereupon fixed at different Places, for their Ease and Accommodation ; and about this Time the large Township of *Providence* became divided into *four Towns* : their *Chapels of Ease*, began to be considered as distinct Churches, tho' all are yet in a Union of Councils and Interests : And there is a strict Association, of all the Baptist Churches in *New England*, that hold the Doctrine of *laying on of Hands*, in that Sense, maintained, by yearly Meetings of the Elders and Brethren, at several Places, from time to time, where the Affairs of all the Churches are considered.

The People who came to *Rhode-Island*, who were Puritans of the highest Form, had desired and depended on the Assistance of Mr. *Wheelwright*, a famous Congregational Minister aforementioned. But he chose to go to *Long-Island*, where he continued some Years. In the mean Time Mr. *John Clark*, who was a Man of Letters, carried on a publick Worship (as Mr. *Brewster* did at *Plymouth*) at the first coming, till they procured Mr. *Lenthal* of *Weymouth*, who was admitted a Freeman here *August 6. 1640.* And *August 20,* Mr. *Lenthal*, was by Vote called to keep a publick School for the learning of Youth, and for his Encouragement there was granted to him and his Heirs one hundred Acres of Land, and four more for an House-Lot ; it was also voted, “ that one
 “ hundred Acres should be laid forth, and appro-
 “ priated

“ priated for a *School*, for encouragement of the
 “ poorer Sort, to train up their Youth in Learn-
 “ ing, and Mr. *Robert Lentbal* while he continues
 “ to teach School, is to have the Benefit thereof.”
 But this Gentleman did not tarry here very long :
 I find him gone to *England* the next Year but
 one ; but there is no Reason to think that Persons
 of their Zeal, should immediately fall into a to-
 tal neglect of a social Worship. One of their
 first Cares both at *Portsmouth* and at *Newport* was
 to build a *Meeting House*, which I suppose was de-
 signed for publick Worship.

It is said, that in 1644, Mr. *John Clark*, and
 some others, formed a Church, on the Scheme and
 Principles of *the Baptists*. It is certain that in
 1648 there were fifteen Members in full Commu-
 nion ‡. And it is this Church, of which we are
 by divine Providence, the Successors, tho’ with
 some little Variation in the Points, which their
 Adversaries had objected to them, in the other
 Colony. And thus all the Churches of Christ in
New England have meliorated their Opinions, and
 ways of speaking of some Points, since that Age of
 Dispute, Contention and Temptation. However,
 I have good Reason to think, the first Founders

‡ The Names of the Males were *John Clark*, *Mark Lukar*,
Nathanael West, *Wm Kaban*, *Thomas Clark*, *Jesse Clark*,
John Peckham, *John Thornden*, *William Wedden*, and *Samuel*
Hubbard.

of this Church would have heartily joined in that Explanation, which was accepted from Mr. Cotton, by the *Synod*, and which is said “to make an happy Conclusion of the whole Matter,” and I suppose every one of the present Members, would readily subscribe it, viz. “That we are
 “not married to the Lord Jesus Christ, without
 “Faith, giving an actual Consent of the Soul to
 “it. That effectual Calling, and the Soul’s apprehending by Faith, is in the order of Nature, before God’s Act of Justification on the
 “Soul ; and that in the Testimony of the Holy
 “Spirit, which is the Evidence of our good Estate
 “before God, the Qualifications of inherent
 “Graces, and the Fruits thereof, proving the
 “sincerity of our Faith, must ever be co-existent,
 “concurrent, and co-apparent, or else the conceived Testimony of the Spirit, is either a Delusion or Doubtful?” (*Magnal. B. 7. P. 17.*) In this Church there were several Persons, able to speak to the Edification of the rest ; and I have been informed by *Tradition*, that the greatest Part of the Inhabitants, used to attend this Worship, tho’ the Members in Church Fellowship were always but few.

In 1652 (during Mr. Clark’s Absence in *England*) some of the Brethren, embraced the Opinion of *Laying on of Hands*, as necessary to all baptised Persons, and in the Year 1654 or 1656, the

the Opinion it was necessary to Church Communion and Fellowship, together with their Opinions of the Doctrines of Grace and Free-Will, occasioned some of them to *seperate*, and form a Church by themselves, under the Leading of Mr. *Wm. Vaban* ; this Church continues to this Day, and is numerous ; at present under the pastoral Care of Messrs. *D. Wightman* and *N. Eyres*.

In 1656 or 1657, some of the People called *Quakers*, came to this *Colony and Island* ; and being persecuted and abused in the other *Colonies*, that, together with the Opinions and Circumstances of the People here, gave them a very large Harvest ; many, and some of the *Baptist Church*, embraced their Doctrines and particular Opinions, to which many of *their Posterity*, and others, still adhere.

About 1665, a Number of the Members of the Church under Mr. *J. Clark*, removed to the new Plantation at *Westerly*, among whom Mr. *John Crandal* was a *Preacher* and *Elder*. They afterwards did generally embrace the *Seventh-Day Sabbath*, and their Successors are now a very large and flourishing Church, under the pastoral Care of Messrs. *T. and G. Moxon*, and Mr. *William Hiscox*.

In 1671, some of the Members of Mr. *Clark's Church*, who had been in the Observation of the

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Seventh-Day Sabbath, for some Years, tho't it proper and necessary to draw off by themselves ; and they erected a Church, under the Leading of Mr. *William Hiscox*. 'Tis under the Roof of their Successors we are now assembled. * Mr. *J. Crandal*, Elder of this Church, died the 12th of *Sept.* 1737.

In 1695, several *Ministers of the Massachusetts-Colony*, came and preached here to some who had desired it. The next Year there was a *Meeting-House erected*, in which the publick Worship of GOD, was maintained by the Rev. Mr. *Nathanael Clap*. In 1720 there was a Church in the *congregational Scheme* gathered, and he was ordained the Pastor, and is still alive, labouring in the Word and Doctrine. In 1728 there was another Church, formed out of this; the present Pastor the Rev. Mr. *James Searing*.

About 1706, the Worship of GOD, according to the *Rites of the Church of England*, was began to be set up here, by the *Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign Parts*. Mr. *Lockyer* was the first *Missionary*, succeeded by the Rev. Mr. *James Honyman*, at present the most ancient *Missionary of the Church of England in all America*.

* While our Church is erecting a new and more convenient Meeting House, we are kindly favoured with the Use of this, belonging to the Sabbatarian Church.

So that there are at this Time, *seven* worshipping Assemblies, Churches or Societies, in this Town, besides a large one of the People called Quakers, at Portsmouth, the other Part of the Island.

I am not able, to assign the exact Date, when every Church, or Meeting began, or every Meeting House was built, in all the several Towns of the Colony. But there are now in the other *eleven* Towns no less than *twenty five* distinct Societies or worshipping Assemblies of Christians; besides several Places where there are occasional Meetings, in some Part of the Year, or at certain Seasons, as is the Custom in the other Colonies, among the new or scattered Settlements.

There are in the *nine* Towns on the main Land *eight* Churches of the People called Baptists, one in every Town, except Greenwich, where there is however a Meeting House in which there is a Meeting once a Month. *

Of the People called Quakers there are *seven* Meeting Houses on the main Land, and *one* at

* The Names of the Elders of these Churches are, at Providence Mr. T. Windsor, & Tho. Burlingham; at Smithfield Mr. Josias Coke; at Scituate Mr. S. Fisk; at Gloucester Mr. Ed. Mitchel; at Warwick Mr. Manasseh Martyn and Mr. Francis Bates; at N. Kingston Mr. R. Sweet and Mr. B. Herrington; at S. Kingston Mr. Daniel Everit.

James-Town on *Conanicut Island* ; and a constant Meeting at *Westerly*, tho' no Meeting House yet erected.

There are four episcopal Churches on the Main, one at *Providence*, to which the Rev. Mr. *John Checkley* is appointed, and one at *North-Kingston*, of which the Rev. *James Mc'Sparran*, D. D. is the present Rector ; besides one at *Westerly*, and one on the Edge of *Warwick*, adjoining to *East-Greenwich*, which are occasionally supply'd by the Missionaries at other Towns.

There are three Presbyterian or Congregational Churches, at *Providence*, *South-Kingston*, & *Westerly* ; each of them supplied at present with a Pastor, viz. the Rev. Mr. *Josiah Cotton*, at *Providence* ; the Rev. Mr. *Joseph Torrey*, at *South-Kingston* ; and the Rev. Mr. *Joseph Park*, at *Westerly*. And at *New-Shoreham* or *Block-Island*, there is a Meeting-House, which is at present supplied with a Preacher.

Thus, notwithstanding all the Liberty, and Indulgence here allowed, and notwithstanding the Inhabitants have been represented, as living without a publick Worship, and as ungodpelized Plantations ; we see there is some Form of Godliness every where maintained. GOD grant the Power may always accompany the Form, and that all that Name the Name of Christ may depart

part from Iniquity ; may *Christ Jesus* walk in the midst of his golden Candlesticks, and hold the Stars in his right Hand ; and may he heal all Divisions among his Disciples, may he unite the Hearts of all that love Him, to love one another ; may he grant them to be all like minded, and may pure Religion, and undefiled, before GOD, and the Father, thrive and flourish among us !

It remains now that I say a few Words relating to the State of the INDIANS, within the Bounds of this Colony, and the Circumstances of the English in Regard to them.

In general, all the *New-English Colonies*, were at the first but one Interest, in Relation to the Indians, and tho' the other four, called themselves the *united Colonies*, there was a Commission from this Colony to Mr. *Williams* and Mr. *Clark*, to enter into a League offensive and defensive with them.

A few Years, three or four, before the *English* came to *Plymouth*, the *Indians* had been dreadfully wasted away by devouring Sickness, from *Narraganset* to *Pembiscut*. So that the Living sufficed not to bury the Dead, and the Ground was covered with their Bones in many Places. This wonderfully made Room for the *English* at *Plymouth* and *Massachusetts*, and those Colonies protected the rest.

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In the Year 1637, the *English* with united Forces subdued the *Pequots*, who had attacked their Brethren in *Connecticut*; the *Narragansetts*, who bordered on the *Pequot's* Land, consented and assisted in their Destruction, thro' a Desire of Revenge, which is remarkable in all the Savages, tho' their *old Sachems* desired to have preserved Peace.

The *Nantygganfiks*, or *Narragansetts*, inhabited the Lands, or governed over all the *Indians* within the Bounds of this Colony. They were a numerous, a rich, and powerful People: and though they are by some said, to have been less fierce, and warlike than the *Pequots*, yet it appears they had lately before the *English* came, not only increased their Numbers, by receiving many who had fled to them, from the devouring Sickness, or Plague in the other Parts of the Land; but they had enlarged their Territories, and that both on the Eastern & Western Boundaries. They were reckoned *five Thousand* fighting Men. (*Mss. of Mr. R. W. in Evidence.*) And Mr. *Williams* says, they were so populous, that a Traveller would meet with a *dozen Indian Towns* in *twenty Miles*.

In the midst of this mighty, and haughty People, the little handful of helpless *English*, ventur'd to sit down; tho' not without taking all possible Precautions; on the one Hand, to give them no
just

just Offence, and on the other Hand, to keep themselves in the best Posture of Defence their Circumstances would admit of. But the Conquest and utter Destruction of the *Pequots*, had for the present endeared English-Men to the *Narragansets*. And the Conduct and Valour they had shewn, and the wonderful Success of their Expedition, had made them a Terror to all the Indian Nations round about.

Mr. *Williams* at first “ made a League of peaceable Neighbourhood, with all the Sachems and Natives round about ”; in this *Rhode-Island* was included. And on the 7th of *July* 1640, Mr. *Coddington*, with the rest of his Assistants, had a particular Treaty of Peace and Amity with *Myantonomy* and the rest of the Sachems. Nevertheless, the next Year, there was a Misunderstanding, and some Hostilities, occasioned, I think, by some of the *Indians*, (if not *Myantonomy* himself) kindling Fire in Mr. *Easton's* Land, *Lord's Day April 4. 1641. whereby an House of his was burnt.* But whether it was designedly, or only through carelessness, don't plainly appear in the Records. However it alarmed the People, and among other Measures, they fitted out an armed Boat, to ply round the *Island*, to keep off the *Indians* from Landing ; and it seems in some Scuffle on that Account, two English Men were wounded, and one *Indian slain* ; tho' the Orders to the Soldiers were

as mild and prudent as could be given. They likewise appointed *Garrison Houses*, to which the People were to repair on an Alarm. Among which I find one was Mr. *Lentbal's* the Minister. But the Rupture lasted not long, before Peace was restored.

In 1643 *Myantonomy* the great Sachem of the *Narragansets*, was taken Prisoner by *Uncas* Sachem of the *Mobeags*, and some time after Slain, and as some of the *English* say, after Quarter and Promise of Life given. This excited his Subjects to revenge his Death, but the Terror of the *English* at the *Massachusetts* kept them quiet. And so 'tis said, that seven Years after, there were some Commotions stilled, by the same Terror likewise in 1653, &c. &c.

In 1652 when the *Council of State* confirmed their Patent, the People were put on some Enterprises against the *Dutch* at *New-York*, or *New-Netherlands*, and the next Year the *Island* sent some Men to the Assistance of their Country-Men, settled at *Long-Island*, which gave great Offence to the *Towns on the Main*, and in the two *Dutch Wars*, in King *Charles 2d's* Time, the *Colony* & *Island* were put to considerable Expence and Trouble, to put and keep themselves in a Posture of Defence.

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In 1675 *Philip, King of the Wampaneags*, began a War against *Plymouth Colony* in June, which soon spread almost throughout all *New-England*. Tradition says, ‡ “He was forced on by the Fury of his young Men, fore against his own Judgment and Inclination ; and that tho’ he foresaw, and foretold the *English* would in Time by their Industry, root out all the *Indians*, yet he was against making War with them, as what he tho’t would only hurry on, and increase the Destruction of his People :” and the Event proved he judged right. The *Powaws* had foretold *Philip*, no *English* Man sh^d ever kill him, which accordingly proved true ; he was shot dead by an *Indian*. *

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‡ All the Histories from Mr *Hubbard* and Dr *Mather*, make *Philip* to be the Spring and Mover of the War ; but there is a constant Tradition among the Posterity of the People, who lived next to him, and were familiarly conversant with him, as also with the *Indians* who survived the War, that both *Philip*, and his chief old Men, were utterly averse to the War, and they shew the Spot (*Kikemunt Spring*, in a Farm belonging to *Stephen Paine* Esq; in *Bristol*) where *Philip* received the News, of the first *English* Men that were killed, with Grief and Sorrow, and wept at the News ; and that a Day or two before the first Outrages, he had protected an *English* Man the *Indians* had capivated, rescued him from them, and privately sent him home safe.

* I have heard from some old People, who were familiarly acquainted with the *Indians*, both before and after the War, that the *Powaws* had likewise given out an other ambiguous Oracle, which did very much stir on the *Indians* to War at first, and afterwards as much discouraged them. viz. that they promised the *Indians* would be successful, if the *English* fired the first Gun. It is certain the *Indians* long delayed, and

When *Philip* could no longer resist the Importance of his Warriours, he, like a wise Man, took the most proper Measures, to make their Enterprize effectual, especially by an early Endeavour, to perswade the other Indian Nations into the War, that with united Forces, they might fall on the *English* every where at once ; and particularly he endeavoured to perswade the *Narragansets*, who had several Pretensions to quarrel with the *English*, and who were then re-

and designedly avoided firing on the *English*, and seem'd to use all possible Means, to provoke the *English* to fire first, by rifling their Houses, abusing their Cattle, threatening and insulting their Persons &c. And the Histories carry it, that an English Man fired the first Gun, at *Metapoiset Garrison*, some Days before any *English* were slain. But those ancient People, since dead, told me, that by a Mistake, occasioned thro' the Hurry and Trepidation, which usually attends the beginning of any considerable Enterprize, an *Indian* fired the first Gun, (whether on *Pocasset* Side where there was a Skirmish at the beginning of the War, that is not mentioned by Mr. *Hubbard* &c. I cannot now say) and that the News of this, when known among the *Indians*, was a fatal Wound to their Courage, they saying the *English* Man's GOD would now subdue them, which contributed not a little to their after Destruction. This I always looked on, as a very remarkable Passage, but the Authors before mentioned, and Col. *Church*, who had by far, the best Means to be informed, in all Circumstances, relating to the Beginning and Progress of the War, in this Part of the Country, being wholly silent about it ; and the few ancient People who are now alive, that were Actors in the War, not retaining any perfect Tradition of the Matter, the Reader may entertain the Story as he pleases ; I dare not warrant the Truth of it, but only that I certainly heard the Story from some ancient People of *Swanzey*, since deceased.

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puted four Thousand ‡ fighting Men. But whether the War began too soon for them, or the first Beginnings discouraged them, or that they did not intend to make War at all; they renewed their League of Peace and War with the uni-

‡ Mr. Hubbard says, Page 13. "The *Narhagansets* promised "to rise with four Thousand in the Spring of the Year 1676." and in a Postscript says, "Concerning the *Narhagansets*, "this is further to be added here, that Mr. Thomas Stanton "and his Son Robert, who have a long Time lived amongst "them, and are best acquainted with their Language & Manners of any in *New-England*, do affirm, that to their Knowledge, the *Narhaganset Sachems*, before the late Troubles, "had two Thousand fighting Men under them, and nine Hundred Arms." These Accounts are perhaps both true, for the first, might mean to contain, all the Indians in the Bounds of this Colony. who being under the Authority of the great *Narhaganset Sachem*, were often called by this general Name; and were perhaps four Thousand fighting Men. Mr. Stanton might mean, only those properly or precisely called *Narraganset Indians*, in Distinction from the Indians at *Providence* and the Indians at *Warwick*, who joined in the War under *Pomham*, &c. and from the *Nyhantick* Indians, under *Ninigret* who did not join in the War; tho' these were always, and to this Day, are frequently included in the general Name of *Narhaganset* Indians. What seems to confirm this is what Mr. Hubbard adds, viz. "Yet are they so broken and scattered at this Day, that there is none of them left on this Side the Country, unless some few, not exceeding seventy in Number, that have sheltered themselves under the Inhabitants of *Rhode Island*, as a Merchant of that Place, worthy of Credit, lately affirmed to the Writer hereof." Those sheltered at the Island were either Prisoners of War, or such as had voluntarily surrendered themselves to the *English* for Protection, on Promise of Life. But 'tis well known, that *Ninigret's* Men alone, vastly exceeded that Number; besides there were divers Prisoners at *Providence*. And that Side of the Country, was much fuller of Indians, in the Memory of very many now alive.

ted Colonies, in *July*, a Month after *Philip* had began Hostilities at *Swansey*.

However when he was driven out of his Country, they were charged to have received, and entertained his People. Whereupon the *united Colonies* sent an Army of a *thousand Men*, under *Jos. Winslow, Esq*; He arrived with the *Massachusetts* and *Plymouth Forces*, the 12th of *December*, at *Major Smith's* in *North-Kingston*; on the 18th the *Connecticut Men* being arrived, the Army marched the next Day near 18 Miles to a Sort of a Fort, (19th of *Hubb.*) which the *Indians* had raised on an Island of Upland, in the midst of a most hideous Swamp. Their *Indian Guide* lead them to the only Place where it could be attacked, the *English* fell on with too much Courage and Eagerness, which proved fatal to some of their valiant Captains. However their Victory was compleat; the Fort was taken, and 'tis said *seven Hundred* fighting Men, and *twenty chief Captains* of the Enemy were slain that Day, besides Women and Children, and *three Hundred more* died of their Wounds afterwards, besides the vast Numbers who perished thro' Cold and Hunger. The Loss to the *English* was of about *eighty Men*; *six Captains* slain, and *one Hundred and Fifty Men* wounded, many of them by their own Friends. Towards Night, they set Fire to the Fort, and re-
treated

treated to their Head Quarters, thro' the Cold and Snow. Some tho't, if they had kept Possession of the Fort, where was the *Indian* Provisions, they might have saved many of their own wounded Men, and that the Indians must all have perished, thro' Cold and Hunger, or surrendered at Discretion the next Morning. Others tho't it a merciful Providence, they retreated so soon, notwithstanding the Fatigue of such a Retreat. But however that be, which can't so well be judged of now, ‡ the wounded and starving

‡ Mr. Hubbard represents the burning the *Fort* as necessary to dislodge the Indians, and after that the Retreat must be also necessary. However he mentions their Want of Provisions, by Means of their Vessels being frozen in at *Cape Cod*. He says there was a great Quantity of Provisions burned in the *four or five Hundred Wigwams* in the Fort. And he several Times laments the Misery of the wounded Men, in marching near *eighteen* Miles thro' the Cold and Snow that Night, before their Wounds could be dressed. But Col. Church, who was present and wounded in the Action, tells us, he vehemently opposed the firing the *Fort*. That the General was surprized into it, and he condemns it as a very imprudent and unfortunate Conduct. He says, 'The Fort was full of Corn and other Provisions, sufficient to support the whole Army 'till the Spring, and there was no other Provisions to be depended on; there was good warm Lodging for the wounded Men, not elsewhere to be had.' He supposes every one acquainted with the Circumstances of that Night's March, deeply laments the Misery of the whole Army, especially of the wounded and dying Men. He adds, 'That it mercifully came to pass, that Capt. Andrew Belcher arrived that very Night at Mr. Smith's from *Boston*; laden with Provisions for the Army, who must otherwise have perished for Want. (Church p. 16, 17.) Tradition is on the same Side, and supposes had the Army kept Possession of the Fort, it must have in a Manner finished the War.

Indians,

Indians, in their Retreat, returned, put out their Fires, and sheltered themselves, and found some Refreshment among the Ashes of the best and strongest Fortification the *Indians* were ever Masters of in this Country. This was the *greatest Action* ever performed by the *New-English Colonies*, against the *Indians*; if we regard either the *Numbers of Men* on each side, or the *Consequences of the Action*. Beside that the *Indians* had now the Use of Guns, as well as they; and were as expert in the Use of them, as any Men in the World. The *Indians* were soon pursued with *Famine* and *Sickness*, so that after they submitted the next Year, they were never formidable again. These *Narragansets*, do now in a Manner cease to be a People, the few, if any, remaining in the *Colony*, being either scattered about where the *English* will employ them, or sheltered under the Successors of *Ninegret*, a *Sachem* that refused to join in the War, and so has preserved his Lands to his Posterity; and there are a few *Indians* now living round him, on his Lands, or belonging to his Tribe.

As to the Part this Colony had in that War, it must be observed, that tho' the Colony was not as they ought to have been consulted, yet they not only afforded Shelter and Protection to the flying *English*, who deserted in many of the neighbouring Plantations, in *Plymouth Colony*,
and

and were received kindly by the Inhabitants, and relieved, and allowed to plant the *next Year* on their Commons, for their Support ; but they likewise furnished some of the Forces with Provisions and Transports : and some of their principal Gentlemen, as Major *Sanford*, and Capt. *Goulding*, were in the Action at *Mount Hope*, as Volunteers in Capt. *Church's* Company, when King *Philip* was slain. ‡ The *Indians* never landed on the *Island*, in the War Time, armed Boats being kept plying round, to break their Canoes, and prevent their making any Attempts. But our Settlements on the Main suffered very much, both at *Petequamscut*, and at *Warwick*, and at *Providence* ; where the *Indians* burnt all the *ungarrison'd* and deserted Houses. And the Inhabitants made heavy Complaints, that when the Army of the *united Colonies* returned home, they did not leave a sufficient Number of Forces to protect our Plantations, which were now, in a very peculiar

‡ In the *Colony's Answer* to the *King's Letter* 1679, enquiring the Value of *Mount Hope Neck*, which was begged of the King, by *Johny Crowne* the *Post*, they say, that ' a *Rhode-Island Indian*, under a *Rhode Island Captain*, a *Voluntier*, with ' a *Plymouth Captain*, killed King *Philip* ' His Name was *Alderman*, and Col *Church* says he deserted the Year before, from *Awasbunks Squaw-Sachem* of *Pocasset*, and came over to *Rhode-Island* with his Family, and gave good Intelligence to the *Englsh* at that Time, which was ill improved or neglected.

Manner, exposed to an exasperated and desperate Enemy. *

* I know this was attempted to be excused, by the Agents of a neighbouring Colony, before the King; and they had the Face to assert, that 'the Colony would never yeild any joint Assistance against the common Enemy, no not so much as in their own Towns, on the Main, nor garrison their own Towns of *Providence* and *Warwick*, and so that the Blame ought to lie on this Government, if they suffered Spoyle, while the Army was pursuing the routed Enemy.' But the printed Histories confute this Answer in Part, the *Providence* Company under Capt *Andrew Edmonds*, was very helpful, and successful too against the common Enemy, and that even out of our own Bounds. (See *Hubbard's* Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians, p. 28.) (See also Col. *Church's* History.) I could give several Reasons, why the Colony did not act more jointly, and why it ought not to be charged to their Fault, that they did not. But perhaps 'twould be no Service to any Body now to mention them. However I must say; it was not owing only to the religious Principles of the Gentlemen then at the Head of our Administration. 'Tis true the *Governour* and the *Deputy Governour* that Year, were both of the People called *Quakers*, but there are military Commissions still in Being under their Hands and Seals, to Mr. *B. Arnold*, jun. and others to go in an armed Sloop to visit the *Garrisons* at *Providence*, &c. It was but reasonable the united Colonies, should have left a sufficient Guard, at least, at their own *Head Quarters*, and some other Places, while the *Island*, the only Part of the Colony able to contribute to the Charge of the Wars, was at so great an Expence, in supporting and defending the distressed *English*, who fled to them from all the adjacent Parts. On account of these and some other like Aspersions, the forementioned *Deputy Governour*, in order that Things might not be otherwise retented against us than they were, gave an Affidavit or Evidence on solemn Engagement, that 'he never was against giving forth any Commissions to any, that might have been for the Security of the King's Interest in this Colony.' This with some Commissions actually signed by him, is among a large Number of ancient Manuscripts in the Possession of the honourable *William Coddington*, Esq;

As King *Philip* had no fortified Places, and no Magazines, when the foreign Succour and Assistance, which he depended upon, failed him, when the *Narragansets* were in his own Condition, and the *Mohawks* refused to assist him, his People lost all Hope, and Courage, and Conduct; being beaten off from their Planting and Fishing, and pursued by Famine and Sickness, and divers Parties of the *English*, who had their Courage raised in Proportion, as the other Side were discouraged, they were forced to surrender almost at Discretion, and beg Peace on any Terms. *Philip* himself being slain, and most of the chief Captains, the War wholly ceased, in this Part of the Country, and with those Nations who first began the War.

Ever since that Peace, this *Colony* has had little or nothing to do with the other *Indian Wars*, but only to assist the other *Colonies*, when properly consulted and applied to. The *Colony* bore it's Part chearfully in the several Expeditions against the *French* at *Port-Royal*, and *Canada*. And divine Providence remarkably succeeded and smiled on the Defence and Protection of our Sea-Coasts, which were very much exposed all the two long *French Wars*.

The necessary Defence of the Inhabitants, was never neglected in the Time of War, and since

the Peace, the Colony, tho' so small as it is, hath rebuilt an handsome *Fort* on an *Island* that commands the Harbour of *Newport*, and 1733 furnished it with a Number of *fine Guns*, at their own Expence. Besides, the *Colony* always keeps a certain Number of smaller *Carriage Guns* and *small Arms*, with all *Necessaries* and *Appurtenances* in good Order, ready to put on Board one or more Vessels, as Occasion may require, on the very first Notice of any Enemy on the Coasts. And tho' a large Proportion of the Inhabitants, are not free in their Consciences *to learn War*, yet the Military Exercises, are kept up as in other Places, and the Success, which formerly attended the Enterprises of our Forces, will, while the Memory thereof remains, keep up a military Spirit, in the Body of the People.

The *Narragansets*, as I observed, were the most populous Nation among the Indians, but all Attempts to Civilize or Christianize them were utterly ineffectual. Their *Sachems* would not suffer the Gospel to be preached to their Subjects, and their Subjects obstinately adhered to the Traditions and Customs of their Fore-Fathers. It seems hard that *New England* should be complain'd of and reproached as particularly negligent of the Conversion of the Indians, and harder still we should be reproached for neglecting the Methods used by the French to make Profelytes of their Indians, and

and most unhappy that such Complaints, are made by *Writers* that seem *otherwise well acquainted with Plantation Affairs*, and are deservedly of great Note and Character. It is *happy* however these *Reproaches* are not well grounded. NEW ENGLAND, nay the *Massachusetts* and *Plymouth Colonies* alone, have had more REAL SUCCESS, in the *Conversion of the Indians*, not only than all the larger *English Colonies*, to the Southward; but than ALL THE OTHER CHRISTIAN NATIONS that have settled throughout the whole Continent of America. The Societies of New England, could never be contented with such sort of Converts as the *Roman Catholick Missionaries* boasted of in many Places; they had no Satisfaction in the Religion of the nominal Christians in Europe, and tho't it would be no Advantage, to make such *Christians* among the *Indians*, as knew no more of the Gospel, than to make the *Sign of the Cross*, or who desired *Baptism* only, for the sake of the *new Shirt*, with which their Conversion was to be rewarded. And there was very great Opposition, to the making them real Christians. Their *Sachems* or *Princes* generally, their *Powaws* or *Priests* always, opposed all their Power and all their Arts to prevent the Growth of the Gospel, as what they imagined would put an End to their Authority, especially that of their *Priests*; and the Customs of the People, their way of Life, and their national Vices, made it a most difficult Task to *gospellize* such People, as

must be first *civilized* or *humanized*. The *New-English* wonder to hear themselves reproached, for not *intermarrying with such Barbarians*, of a *Com-
pletion* so different ; they never had the *Temp-
tations* to the *unnatural Mixture*, as some *foreign
Plantations* had, nor do they know other *English
Plantations* used to do so.

As to *this Colony* in *Particular* ; at first, the *Nar-
ragansets* made it a *publick Interest*, to oppose the
Propagation of the *Christian Religion*. And tho' *Mr. Williams* made some laudable Attempts, to
instruct them, yet he was much discouraged, not
only by want of a lawful Warrant, or an imme-
diate Commission to be an Apostle to them, but
especially by (as he tho't) *the insuperable Diffi-
culty of preaching Christianity to them, in their own
Language with any Propriety, without Inspiration*.
After the War, they were soon reduced to the
Condition of the labouring Poor, without Property,
Hewers of Wood, and Drawers of Water ; and
there is no more Reason to expect Religion, shou'd
by human Means, thrive among such People, than
among the lazy and abandoned Poor in *London*.
The few that have lived much together, on *Nini-
grets* Lands, have had several Offers of the Gos-
pel, as the *Narragansets* had before ; and at pre-
sent the Congregational Minister at *Westerly* is
a Missionary to them, and encouraged by an Ex-
hibition from the *Scotch Society for propagating
Christian*

Christian Knowledge, by means of an Estate, mortified to them for this End, by the late Dr. *Daniel Williams* of *London*. However, it must be owned we have been too soon discouraged, and too negligent in this Affair. Perhaps it is one of the worst Effects of the variety of religious Opinions, among the *English*, that it has been some hindrance to this good Work, and even furnished the *Indians* some times, with an Excuse or Pretence to wave any Offers to instruct them. If the Manners of any, have likewise prejudiced any *Indians*, it is most lamentable. The Vices of Christians have been an insurmountable Obstacle to the progress of Christianity, in all the other Parts of the World, as there are too many Evidences. May these Reflections, however, stir us up to adorn our holy Religion, and to be careful that we give none Offence to any, that are without : And may it dispose all Persons to contribute all in their Power, to farther the Conversion of these People to the Christian Religion. They demand our Compassion, and our Prayers to the Throne of Grace, that God would remove the Vail from their Eyes, and all Prejudices from their Hearts ; that he would convert and save them.

Mr. *R. Williams* at first, gave a promising Character, of the Morals of these People ; but on longer Acquaintance, and more Experience, he seems to have altered his Opinion of them ;
as

as appears by some Expressions in a *Manuscript* of his yet remaining. “ The Distinction of
 “ drunken, and sober honest SACHEMS, is (says
 “ he) both lamentable, and ridiculous ; lamen-
 “ table, that *all Pagans* are given to Drunken-
 “ ness ; and ridiculous, that those (of whom he
 “ was speaking) are excepted. It is (says he)
 “ notoriously known, what Consciences *all Pa-*
 “ *gans* make of *Lying, Stealing, Whoring, Mur-*
 “ *dering.* ” &c. 25th 6th m. 1658.

After this Account of *their Morals*, I should think it hardly worth while to inquire, what was their *Faith* and *Worship* that had so little Effect on their Conversation ; if we had not just heard what a scandal to Christianity, the Lives of too many Christians are. However *the Faith of this People and their idolatrous Worship*, was much like the other *Indian Nations*. They believed in one Great and Good God, who lived somewhere at a great Distance in the South West, and that the Spirits of Good Men do after Death reside with him. But, the Government of the World, they seem'd to think, left in the Hands of an Evil God, the Devil, to whom, with many inferior & subordinate Deities, they paid their chief Worship, at their *Nicemors*, or devilish Feasts, as Mr. *Williams* calls them.

The Indians in this Part of *America*, appear to have been some of the least improved, of the *humane Species*, without any Learning, or Knowledge in any of the politer Arts of Life, even without *Iron* and the Improvements which depend on that. The strange Destruction of this People, now since the Wars ceased, and within Memory, is very remarkable. Their insuperable Aversion to the English Industry, and Way of Life, the Alteration from the *Indian* Method of living, their *Laziness*, and their *universal Love of Strong Drink*, have swept them away, in a wonderful Manner. So that there are now above *twenty English* to *one Indian* in the Colony. Their few miserable Remains are left, as Monuments of the Anger of a righteous God, and for our Warning & Instruction. While the Contentions, and mutual Animosities of the *Indians* in general, and their cursed Thirst of Revenge, made them a Prey to the Weak, and small Number of English, we should learn not to bite & devour one another, lest we be devoured one of another, or of the Judgments of God. While we have seen their Iniquities prove their Ruin, we should learn to break off from our Sins by Righteousness, and especially abstain from, and watch against *the Sins*, which have been so evidently both, the procuring Causes, and the Means, of their Destruction. When God was conducting the *Israelites* to the Land of *Canaan*, and driving out the Inhabitants

Inhabitants, to make room for them, he was pleased to warn and require them, not to defile themselves with the Abominations of those Nations, lest as the Land then spued out its Inhabitants, so it should spue out them likewise, when they in like manner defiled it. Tho' it wou'd be ridiculous to compare our selves, to the *Israelites*, and the *Indians* to the *Canaanites*, in many Instances, yet in this Respect, it may be proper to argue, that if we *Indianize* in our Manners and Vices, they will in Time draw down the like, or as heavy Judgments of God, upon us, as those with which he hath destroyed our Predecessors. God grant that *the People*, who have been *overthrown in the Wilderness* may be *Ensamplers* to us, to prevent our lusting after any Evils, lest we be destroyed likewise of the Destroyer ! ----

And this brings me now at last, to the REMARKS I promised at the Beginning. And

I. The first is, *The wonderful and unsearchable Providence of GOD, in the whole Affair, of driving out the Natives, and planting Colonies of Europeans, and Churches of Christians, in the Place of Heathenism and Barbarity.*

I pretend not to have known the Mind of the LORD, or to have been his Counsellor, or to be able to comprehend, the Ways of divine Providence. GOD's Judgments are a great Deep ;
but

but we must be wilfully blind, if we cannot see,
that the Hand of the Lord hath wrought this.

The Discovery, and the Conquest of AMERICA, with the amazing Desolations wrought therein, appear a more remarkable Event, than any other in all prophane History, since the universal Deluge. A new World, as it was justly called, discovered to the other, or rather to *Europe*, and all its Riches and Glory overturned, and given away to an other People ; and the *Aboriginal Natives*, by Famine, Sword and Pestilence, destroyed, and wasted away by *Millions* throughout *all America* ! Who can tell how, or how long it had been inhabited ; and by what a Series of Iniquity, it was ripe for such a fearful Desolation, such an utter Destruction ! If we believe a Providence (and 'tis impossible we can believe none) we must needs think it concerned, in the Preservation, and the Punishment of Kingdoms, and Nations ; and that these Parts of the World, tho' seperated, hid, and unknown to the rest, are yet as near the Omnipresence of GOD, and as much under his Government, as any other. And therefore we should take Notice of the wonderful Providence of GOD, in this great Affair. How should we learn to submit our little personal Affairs, to the divine Providence, when we see that Nations, before Him, are but as the small Dust of the Ballance ? And how justly may we say, *Great and marvellous*
O are

*are thy Works, O Lord GOD Almighty; true & faithful
are thy Ways, and righteous are thy Judgments, thou
King of Saints; who shall not fear thee, and glorify
thy Name, for thou only art holy: Let all Nations
come and worship before thee, for thy Judgments are
made manifest. The most High ruleth in the Kingdoms
of Men, and giveth them to whomsoever he pleaseth.*

Again, *the Settlement of New England in parti-
cular, was evidently providential, in many Respects.*
I have mentioned often the prevailing Mo-
tive with the People, who came first to plant
and inhabit in this Wilderness; but the
Difficulties and Discouragements in their Way,
were really many and very great; so that who-
ever reflects the least upon them, “ must wonder
“ so many were carried out from a flourishing
“ State, to a Wilderness so far distant; for (as
“ One of them, Mr. *Shepherd* of Cambridge; his
Life in the *Magnalia*; says) “ they were not all
“ of them rash and weak spirited Persons, incon-
“ siderate of what they left behind, and were
“ going to. It was not Gain, or Riches they
“ aimed at. When we look back (says he) and
“ consider, what a strange Poise of Spirit, God
“ had laid on many of our Hearts, we cannot but
“ wonder at our selves, that so many, and some
“ so weak and tender, with such Chearfulness,
“ and constant Resolution, against so many Per-
“ swasions of Friends, & Discouragements from
“ the

“ the ill Reports of the Country, and the Straits
 “ and Wants, and Trials of God’s People in it,
 “ yet should leave our Accommodations & Com-
 “ forts, forsake our dearest Relations, overlook
 “ all the Dangers and Difficulties of the vast Sea,
 “ and all this to go into a Wilderness, where we
 “ could forecast nothing but Care and Temptati-
 “ ons, only in hopes to enjoy CHRIST in his
 “ Ordinances, and the Fellowship of his People”.

Moreover, as these People came not here, for Plunder, which drew over the *Spaniards* to the Southward, neither did they settle themselves by Force or by their own Might ; but GOD was pleased to make ready a Place prepared as an Asylum for them : And since he has wonderfully driven out and consumed the *Natives* by his devouring Judgments, their Sins have proved their Punishment ; and their detestable Vices, have drawn on those mortal Sickneses, which have wasted away all within the English Pale, but a few embraced *Christianity*, or who by submitting to the *English Power*, remains the Memorials of these wonderful Events. It is true, the *Indian Jealousy* and *Revenge* prevented a Union among their several *Clans* at first, and made them instrumental in the Destruction of one another, and the *English* had great Advantages in their Arms ; but still the *Indians* vastly out-numbered them ; were more able to endure Fatigue, & Hardships, Hunger, & Travel ; and were perfectly acquaint-

ed with their own Country. However a *remarkable Interposition of Providence*, was visible in some of the earliest, and other the most important Enterprises against them ; and it would be unjust not to give to GOD the Glory due to his Name : The LORD is King for ever, and the Heathen are perished out of the Land ! As therefore GOD hath planted this People, and not their own Skill, or Power, so neither let them imagine it was for their Merits and Deserts : We know not the secret and future Designs of Providence. Only let us remember, that He who chastiseth the *Heathen*, will also correct those, *who are called by his Name*, if they turn to Folly.

Again, 'tis remarkable how divine Providence was pleased to supply their Wants in a Wilderness, among a People that never took care for the Morrow ; and to support them under the Distresses they were tried with. At *Plymouth* and *Boston*, many died at first, for want of Necessaries and Conveniencies, but afterwards, it was many Years, before any Sickness prevailed amongst the *Planters*. And tho' they have often since been visited with sore Calamities, and wasting Sicknesses, yet their Numbers have continually increased to a very great Degree ; while the *Natives* have been wasted away, by the same Diseases, and some other infectious Distempers, from which the *English* have been providentially deliver-

delivered. ‡ I can't help observing here, the *very great Age, to which many of the first Settlers of this Colony lived.* Many of them thro' all the Difficulties and Hardships of a new Plantation, lived here near and some above forty Years, and some above sixty. * Remarkable was the Care of

‡ Thus I am informed by a *worthy Gentleman*, that an *Indian*, coming in from Sea, sick of an uncommon Fever, infected his Acquaintance, and they propagated the Disease to others, and a very great Mortality ensued among the *Indians*, in *Narhaganset*; while the *English*, were preserved from the Infection.

* Many of the *Original Settlers* of the Colony, lived thro' all the Dangers and Difficulties of their new Settlement, above *forty Years*. Particularly *Mr. Wm. Arnold*, *Mr. J. Greene &c.* who came up the first Year with *Mr. Williams*. *Mr. Harris*, *Mr. Olney &c.* who came soon after *Mr. Williams* himself, lived till about 1682, when he was buried with all the Solemnity the Colony was able to shew. *Gov. Arnold*, who came up a Man grown, the *first Winter*, dyed a few Months before *Gov. Coddington* in 1678. At *Warwick* *Mr. Weekes* was slain by the *Indians* 1675, a very ancient Man; and *Mr. Gorton*, *Mr. Holden &c.* survived the War, and some of them, many Years: Particularly *Major J. Greene*, who came a Youth to *Providence* in 1634,5, and was a Commissioner for *Providence* the first Assembly after the Patent in 1647. was Deputy Gov. of the Colony 1700, as he had been many Times before. Here at *Newport* several of those who Incorporated themselves 1637,8 and of those who came to them the Summer following survived the *Indian War*. *Mr. John Clark* lived to the 20th of *April* 1676. *Gov. Brenton* died in 1674. *Mr. N. Easton* who came 1638 from *Hampton*, where he built the *first English House*, as he did also in 1639 in *Newport*, lived to 1675, when he died a very ancient Man. His Son *Mr. John Easton*, who, as his *Father*, was divers Times *Governour of the Colony*, died 1705, in his 85th Year. *Mr. H. Bull*, one of the 18 that Incorporated themselves at the first, was *Governour of the Colony* after the Revolution. *Mr. Ed. Thurston*, who was Assistant 1675, and

of divine Providence in preserving them from *Famine* in a new Country, where 'twas some Time before they could be enabled, to provide for their comfortable Subsistence. God was pleased to bless their Provision, and satisfy his Poor with Food. ‡

II. *We*

and many Times Deputy for *Newport*, died 1706, 7, aged 90 Years. Many such Instances might be given. And many of the *second Generation*, such I mean, as were born within the first 20 or 25 Years, reached to fourscore, and some to ninety Years. If we consider, the long Lives of so many of the first Comers, notwithstanding the Hardships and Distresses they underwent, and the Change of Climate, Diet &c. and to this add, the great Age of many of their Children, we can't call the *Country*, *Unhealthy*, or the Inhabitants *Short-Lived*. The Proportion of ancient People above 70 Years of Age, to the whole Number of the present Inhabitants, compared with the like Proportion in other Countries, which have been fully settled, and inhabited above 1000 Years, can be no good Rule to judge by. Eighty Years ago, the whole Number of the Inhabitants, and consequently of the Births here, was very small, perhaps there were fewer than *two hundred Families* in the *whole Colony*. And the Number of Inhabitants in this Town, has vastly increased the last 30 Years. Let me further add, that the foresaid Rule will not be applicable to this *Colony* a great while hence, if ever; because, *so many of the Natives, dye in the West India Islands*. It is certain, a very great Part of those of them who dye between sixteen and thirty-six, are lost at Sea, or dye in those Islands, or bring home from thence, those Diseases, which soon prove fatal to them here; tho' 'tis notorious, how conducive to the Recovery of Health, a Voyage from those Islands, to the Northern Plantations, is generally found, so that we have almost always some or other of their Inhabitants here for that End.

‡ *January 22 1639*, it was found that there were but 108 Bushels of Corn, to supply 96 Persons: Which at the Proportion of one Bushel and half a Peck to each, was not more than sufficient, to supply them for *six Weeks*, and yet

II. *We must remark* (however it will sound in the Ears of many) *that this Colony was a Settlement, and Plantation for Religion and Conscience sake.* The first Comers, came on this Account ; their Brethren may have said many hard Things of them, in their Haste ; but 'tis certain *the first Planters* of this Colony, and Island, fled not from Religion, Order, or good Government ; but to have Liberty to Worship GOD, and enjoy their own religious Opinions and Belief. They left *England* for the same Reasons, and with the same Views, as the rest ; and they left the *Massachusetts*, as they tho't, on the like Account, and came here to pursue, and effect the Ends of their first removal into *America*.

I know well what Account, the *New English Historians* give of that Set of Men ; but we must remember, they *were Parties*, and wrote by way of *Apology*, or to *vindicate* themselves from the Charge of *Persecution*, or *Error and Heresy*, both *alike odious*. Now if it be considered what Account contending Parties, usually give of each other, and in what a Light, and with what Colours they usually represent their Adversaries ; no one will charge me, with any Design to re-

it was then more than so many Months to Harvest. But there was plenty of Fish, and Fowl, and Venison ; and soon after, even to this Day, all the Necessaries of Life have been plentiful.

He &c.

reflect on those Gentlemen, whose Memory is so highly regarded in the other *New-English-Colonies*, if I beg leave to question and suspect the ill Character, they have fastned on those poor People, some of whom have expressed a deep Resentment of the Injury, and Wrong that was done them, by the Historians of the other Party. Whoever considers *the Character*, those *Writers* give of *all other Sects*, and Parties of Christians ; and the Character *some other Parties* give of them, will be apt to think that both Sides are to be read *with Allowance* for their *respective Prejudices*. I say, whoever considers the Character the contending Parties of Christians, almost for ever give, not only of each others *Tenets*, or *Opinions*, but of their *Conduct*, especially in so far as relates to the Support or *Spreading their Opinions* ; not only the *Papists* of the *Protestants*, but the *Protestants* of one another, particularly the *Lutherans* of the *Calvinists* : (*Hornbeck* ; *Summ.*) Whoever considers how common 'tis for personal Reflections, to mix with solemn Debates, on the highest and most awful Doctrines, as well as the least and most indifferent ; I say, whoever considers these Things, will readily acknowledge we are not to take the Character of any Sect or Person, barely from the Description of known Adversaries ; especially when the Description doth it self imply many Circumstances, which carry the strongest Grounds of Suspicion with them.

If

If there be any thing in that Observation,
 “ that the Nature, and Import of the Questions,
 “ about which the Difference began, and the Zeal
 “ wherewith they were handled, intimate some-
 “ thing of the *holy Temper*, prevailing among the
 “ Body of the People ;” (*Magnalia*) I desire it
 may be considered, that those Persons, were in
 repute with the very best, for Holiness and Zeal,
 before this unhappy Contention. Moreover, it
 must be remembred, that the Points about which
 they were charged with Error, are of such a Na-
 ture, as that a Person’s Sentiments may be easily
 mistaken, and misrepresented. It was long before
 the Church at *Boston* could have any Evidence of
 their holding those Opinions, which that Church
 condemned, the Witnesses at the last were Parties
 and transported with Zeal. ’Tis not doubted there
 was some Difference in their Opinions, at least in
 their Expressions ; but there is much Ground to
 doubt, whether any of them held all the Opinions
 condemned in the *Synod*, and that few of them
 held many of those harsh Consequences, which
 their Adversaries, drew from their Tenets. Be-
 sides much the greater Number were never cen-
 sured at all ; but (as I observed before) consider-
 ed as *Brethren* ; long after their coming here.

We cannot reasonably suppose that they di-
 rectly forgot or neglected the *sole End* of their
 Removal, but as they followed that *Church Order*,

they judged most agreeable to the Will of GOD, and professed those *Opinions, and Articles of Belief* they tho't GOD had revealed, so we must charitably judge, the *Life of Religion*, and the *Love and Fear of GOD*, did not go out, and vanish away, on their leaving all, *for his Name sake and the Gospel*, i. e. the Liberty to worship Him according to their Consciences. And yet all the other *Colonies* will be obliged to own, that the Trials and Temptations of a Wilderness, had some unhappy Effects, on many who had shewn great Zeal about Religion.

However, while we are contemplating the Occasion of our Settlement, and the Ends & Views of our pious Ancestors, when we find *that Religion and Conscience began the Colony*, 'tis natural, 'tis necessary to reflect & consider how these Ends are answered by their Posterity at present. Our Fathers bore the Heat & Burden of the Day, and tho' Providence gave them a pleasant and fruitful Land, *
the

* Mr. Neale justly observes (p. 595) this Island which is about 14 or 15 Miles long, and about 4 or 5 Miles broad (tho' of unequal Breadth) is deservedly esteemed the *Paradise of New England* for the *fruitfulness of the Soil*, and the *temperateness of the Climate*; that tho' it be not above 65 Miles South of *Boston*, is a Coat warmer in Winter, and being surrounded by the Ocean is not so much affected in Summer with the hot Land Breezes, as the Towns on the Continent." Let me add, we have all Summer a South or Southwesterly Sea Breeze, almost every Day, which rises about 10 A. M. and wonderfully cools the Air. And by reason

the Garden of New England, yet the subduing and cultivating a Wilderness, was a tedious, and a laborious Business, and necessarily attended with many Hardships, Straits, and Difficulties. Their Posterity possess the Fruit of their Labour, and should think themselves obliged to fulfil the pious Ends of our Plantation. GOD justly expects that we fear the Lord our God, and Love Him, and walk in his Ways, and serve him with all our Heart. It seems, that pure Religion, and true Godliness, is what we in a most peculiar

reason of southeasterly Sea Breezes, in the Spring, the Summer does not come on so quick as at *Boston*, tho' the Winter usually breaks up sooner. — Here let me be permitted to offer a Correction of a vulgar Error, about the Reason of the Cold of New England Winters, which is so very much greater, than in the European Countries in the same Latitudes. The Lakes usually bear the Blame of our cold Northwest Winds, but by a Map of the Country of the five Nations, and of the Lakes &c. published at New York by Authority, and said to be taken from a Map of *Louisiana*, done by Mr. De Lisle in 1718. it appears that all the Lakes, except the Lake Champlain, are considerably to the Westward of the Northwest Point, from this Town. The chief of these vast Lakes are Northwest from *Pennsylvania*, *Marland*, and *Virginia*. All the great Lakes are West from *Albany*, as the Council of New-York seem to assert; and *Albany* is, as I suppose, nearer West from *Boston* than Northwest. Besides, it is credibly reported by intelligent Persons, most conversant in those Regions, that at the most Eastern of the Lakes, the Winds are usually Easterly in those Months, when we are frozen with North West Winds. Perhaps as our Distance from the Equator, occasions the long Draft of Winds from North-West, to the vast Body of Lands, uncultivated, and covered with a perpetual Forest, which breaks the Rays of the Sun, and prevents their Reflection from the Earth, is what occasions those Winds, to be so very cold here.

manner, owe to GOD, as the very Quit-Rents of our Lands, & an Acknowledgement of the merciful Providences in our first Settlement ; as well as for the constant Favours of GOD to us ever since.

The Posterity of a People, who were guided by the Providence of GOD, to this *happy Island*, as a safe Retreat from the stormy Winds ; as a Place of freedom to practice every Branch of Religion in, must be inexcusable, if they degenerate and forget the God of their Fathers. The *very Instrument of our original Incorporation*, obliges us to “ serve GOD & JESUS CHRIST, & obey all his holy Laws.” Irreligion then, and Prophaness, and Immorality must be a peculiar Reproach to such a People. Our Fathers will rise up in Judgment against, and condemn their degenerate Offspring, and the GOD of our Fathers will cast us off for ever, if we do not practice that Sobriety, Righteousness, and Godliness, which his Gospel requires, and we are under so many peculiar Obligations to observe. Nay, it will be more tolerable for the *Pequots*, the *Wampanoags*, the *Narragansets* in the Day of Judgment, than for such of us as obey not the Gospel of our LORD JESUS CHRIST. It is true, the *Indian Nations* did obstinately refuse the Gospel, but they knew not what they did ; they did it ignorantly, and in Unbelief ; while we have known our Master’s Will ; and to whom much is given, of them much will

will be required. As we have been as it were lifted up to Heaven with Privileges, our Fall will be so much the greater, in the bottomless Pit, unless we lay hold on eternal Life.

If our Neighbours observe the Manners of the Inhabitants are reformed in any Instances, formerly grievous to them; let us endeavour to reform whatever is still really amiss among us, and put away the Evil of our Doings, that the Lord GOD may dwell among us. May we be noted only, and ever, for the general Discharge of all publick and private Vertues; for the impartial Administration of Justice; and the steady Execution of good and wholesome Laws; and for leading quiet and peaceable Lives, in all Godliness and Honesty.

It is an old and common Observation, that the Stature, and Complection * of humane Creatures, as well as of Plants and Animals; yea, and the Genius and Dispositions of a People, are very much influenced by the Soil, and Climate; by the

* In like manner some Diseases are peculiar to every Country, perhaps we may *this Way* account for what has been, in vain, attempted to be accounted for so many other Ways; viz. the *defective Teeth* so common in *New England*. Mr. R. Williams, says, that when he first came here, the *Indians* were vastly subject to the *Tooth-Ach*, and that their very stoutest Men, complained more of that Pain, than their Women of the Pains of Travail.

Situation, the Nature, and Circumstances of the Place they inhabit. Thus, the Inhabitants of the several Parts of *Italy*, of *Germany* &c. are characterized from their respective Countrys ; and thus it was observed of the *Carthaginians*. The peculiar Genius, and Dispositions of a People, must arise from hence ; or the Form of Government, and Laws they live under ; or the Genius of the present chief Commanders. The *Narragansets*, who inhabited this Tract of Land, before us, were not remarkable among the *Indians*, for many Vices peculiar to them, ‡ only that in proportion to their greater populousness, they exceeded in the Vices, common to all the *Indian Nations*. *Idleness* and *Intemperance* are every where branded, as *Indian Vices* ; and they were complained of, as shamefully *negligent* in the *Education* of their Children, and that they had in a Manner, no *Family Government* at all. Tho' the Face of the Country is greatly changed by *English* Industry, and an almost Immense Labour and Expence, yet a plentiful Country will always afford its Inhabitants Inducements and Temptations to abuse the divine Goodness, and to turn the Grace of GOD into Wantonness. If instead of having been able, to teach the *Indians*, *Christian*

‡ Mr. Hubbard says, pa. 3. " The *Narragansets*, were always more *Civil and Courteous* to the *English*, than any of the other *Indians*."

Vertues, we should learn, and imitate the *Indian Vices*, how unhappy, how reproachful, how lamentable would it be? Surely, we must think GOD expects more from us, with all our Advantages of Knowledge, with the Gospel, the Word of GOD; which is able to make us wise to Salvation, thro' Faith that is in Christ Jesus. We have not only the Light of Reason, brightned and improved, but Revelation, to be as a Guide to us: Let us make the Scriptures then as a Light to our Feet, and a Lamp to our Path.

And in fine, let every Sect, and Party of Christians among us, be followers of GOD as dear Children: Let us be careful to build only Gold, Silver, precious Stones, on the Rock of Ages, the true Foundation of our Faith, and Hope: Let us walk worthy of GOD to all well pleasing, and adorn the Christian Religion in general, in the Sight of the Heathen; and recommend our distinguishing Opinions to one another, by a more exemplary Behaviour; and so induce others to glorify GOD our Heavenly Father.

III. *Liberty of Conscience was the Basis of this Colony.* Our Fathers tho't it just and necessary to allow each other mutually to worship GOD, as their Consciences were respectively perswaded: They tho't no Man had Power over the Spirit of GOD; and that the Duty of the Magistrate was
to

to leave every one to follow the Light of his Conscience. They were willing to exhibit to the World, an Instance that Liberty of Conscience was consistent with the publick Peace, and the flourishing of a civil Common Wealth, as well as that Christianity could subsist without Compulsion, and that bearing each others Burdens, was the way to fulfil the Law of Christ.

I do not know there was ever before, since the World came into the Church, such an Instance, as the Settlement of this *Colony and Island*. In other States the civil Magistrate had for ever, a *publick Driving* in the particular Schemes of Faith, and Modes of Worship ; at least, by negative Discouragements, by annexing the Rewards of Honour and Profit to his own Opinions ; and generally, the Subject was bound by penal Laws, to believe that Set of Doctrines, and to worship GOD in that Manner, the Magistrate pleased to prescribe. *Christian Magistrates* would unaccountably assume to themselves, the same Authority in religious Affairs, which any of the *Kings of Judah, or Israel*, exercised, either by Usurpation, or by the immediate Will, and Inspiration of GOD ; and a great deal more too. As if the becoming *Christian*, gave the Magistrate any new Right, or Authority over his Subjects, or over the Church of Christ ; and as if that because they submitted personally to the Authority, and Govern-

Government of Christ in his Word, that therefore they might cloath themselves with his Authority ; or rather, take his Scepter out of his Hand, and lord it over GOD's Heritage. It is lamentable that *Pagans and Infidels* allow more Liberty to *Christians*, than they were won't to allow to one another. 'Tis evident, the civil Magistrate as such, can have no Authority to decree Articles of Faith, and to determine Modes of Worship, and to interpret the Laws of *Christ* for his Subjects, but what must belong to all Magistrates ; but no Magistrates can have more Authority over Conscience, than what is necessary to preserve the publick Peace ; and that can be only to prevent one Sect, from oppressing another, and to keep the Peace between them. Nothing can be more evidently proved, than " the Right of private Judgment for every Man, in the Affairs of his own Salvation, " and that both from the plainest Principles of Reason, and the plainest Declarations of the Scripture. This is the Foundation of the Reformation, of the Christian Religion, of all Religion, which necessarily implies Choice and Judgment. But I need not labour a Point, that has been so often demonstrated, so many Ways. Indeed as every Man believes his own Opinions the best, because the truest, and ought charitably to wish all others of the same Opinion, it must seem reasonable, the Magistrate should have a *publick Leading*, in religious Affairs,

Q

but

but as he almost for ever exceeds the due Bounds, and as Error prevails ten Times more than Truth in the World, the Interest of Truth, and the Right of private Judgment seem better secured, by a universal Toleration, that shall suppress all Prophaness, and Immorality, and preserve every Party, in the free and undisturbed Liberty of their Consciences, while they continue quiet & dutiful Subjects to the State.

Our Fathers established a mutual Liberty of Conscience, when they *first Incorporated themselves*: this they confirmed under their *first Patent*, and and at the *Restoration*, they *petitioned King Charles 2d. (Charter)* “ That they might be
 “ permitted, to hold forth a lively Experiment,
 “ that a most flourishing civil State, may stand,
 “ and best be maintained, and that among *Eng-*
 “ *lish* Subjects, with a *full Liberty in religious*
 “ *Concernments*, and that true Piety rightly
 “ grounded on Gospel Principles, will give the
 “ best and the greatest Security to Sovereignty ;
 “ and will lay in the Hearts of Men, the strong-
 “ est Obligations to true Loyalty.” And the King was pleased to make them a Grant, *by which*
 “ every Person may ever freely and fully have Ben-
 “ joy his own Judgment or Conscience in Matters
 “ of religious Concernment, behaving himself peacea-
 “ bly and quietly, and not using this Liberty, for
 “ Licentiousness, and Prophaness, nor to the civil
 “ Injury,

“ *Injury, or outward Disturbance of others.* ”
 This happy Priviledge we enjoy to this Day, thro’
 the divine Goodness ; and the Experiment has
 fully answered, and even beyond what might
 have been expected, from the *first Attempt*. The
 civil State has flourished, as well as if secured by
 ever so many penal Laws, and an Inquisition to
 put them in Execution. Our civil Officers have
 been chosen, out of every religious Society, ‡
 and the publick Peace has been as well preserved,
 and the publick Councils as well conducted, as we
 could have expected, had we been assisted by ever
 so many religious Tests.

All Prophaness, and Immorality, are punished
 by the Laws made to suppress them ; and while
 these Laws are well executed, speculative Opini-
 ons, or Modes of Worship, can never disturb or
 injure the Peace of a State, that allows all its
 Subjects an equal Liberty of Conscience. In-
 deed it is *not variety of Opinions, or seperation in*

‡ It has been no uncommon Sight, to see Gentle men of almost
 every religious Perswasion among us, sitting on the same
 Bench of *Magistrates* together. And we may always expect
 to see it, while that Principle prevails, that the surest Way
 to preserve and enjoy our Charter Priviledges, is so to divide
 the Posts of Honour, Trust, and Profit among all Perswa-
 sions indifferently ; and in general, to prefer those Gentle-
 men, of whatever religious Opinions they are, that are o-
 therwise best qualified, to serve the Publick, and adorn their
 Stations ; and to suffer no one religious Sect, to monopo-
 lize the Places of Power, and Authority.

Worship, that makes *Disorders*, and *Confusions in Government* : It is the unjust, unnatural, and absurd Attempt to force all to be of one Opinion, or to feign and dissemble that they are ; or the cruel and impious punishing those, who can't change their Opinions without Light, or Reason ; and will not dissemble against all Reason, and Conscience. It is the wicked Attempt to force Men to worship GOD in a Way, they believe He hath neither commanded, nor will accept ; and the restraining them from worshipping Him in a Method, they think He has instituted, and made necessary for them ; and in which alone, they can be sincere Worshippers, and accepted of GOD ; in which alone, they can find Comfort, & Peace of Conscience, and approve themselves before GOD ; in which alone, they can be honest Men, and good Christians. Persecution will ever occasion Confusion & Disorder, or if every Tongue is forced to confess, and every Knee to bow to the Power of the Sword : this it self is the greatest of all Disorders, and the worst of Confusions in the Kingdom of Christ Jesus.

Liberty of Conscience was never more fully enjoyed in any Place, than here ; and this *Colony*, with some sence formed on the same Model, have prov'd that the terrible Fears, that Barbarity would break in, where no particular Forms of Worship or Discipline are established by the civil Power,

Power, are really vain and groundless ; * and that Christianity can subsist without a National Church, or visible Head ; and without being incorporated into the State. It subsisted so for the first *three hundred* Years ; yea, in Opposition and Defiance to all the Powers of Hell and Earth. And 'tis amazing to hear those who plead for penal Laws, and the Magistrates Right, & Duty to govern the Church of CHRIST, to hear such Persons, call the early Times, the golden Age of Christianity.

However, as the best Things, the wisest Institutions are subject to some Inconveniencies, while some Good may accidentally follow the very worst Things in the World, it may be worth our while to consider, whether some Inconveniencies do not naturally, or have not in Fact, followed or attended our Constitution. The popish Inquisition it self, which is such an open Tyranny over Conscience, and such an absolute Destruction of the Essentials of Christianity, and all true Religion, yet keeps up the Face and Shew of the greatest Decorum, Order, and Harmony imaginable. It ought not to be wondred at, if an unli-

* I am aware, some such Charges of Ignorance and Barbarity, have been formerly insinuated, and that the People lived in a State of *Anarchy* ; but I hope, I have said enough, to shew the groundlessness of such Reports ; which were the Effects of Prejudice, and Misinformation.

mitted Toleration of every Doctrine, or Form of Christian Worship, tho' never so just in it self, and so useful and beneficial in many Respects, yet in some other Respects, may be attended with, or productive of some Inconveniencies. We know some followed on the Gospel itself. It can't be wondred at, if some should make an ill Use of this Liberty ; yea, if this Liberty it self, should be unhappily a Snare to some Men. Have, never any in no Parts of the Colony, appeared lost, and bewildred in a variety of Opinions round them ? At least, is it not likely, there should be some Persons so weak and unstable ? Have never any pretended, to think it needless, or endless, to search after Truth, among so many Pretenders to it ? And have not some, in the Heat and Hurry of Dispute about the Circumstantials of Christianity, the Circumstances of Order, Time, & Place, grown cold or negligent, about the Vitals & Essentials of the Gospel Covenant ? Hath not too much Zeal about outward Things, too often occasioned Censoriousness, and Uncharitableness, and starved the Life of Religion ? Is there no Foundation for that Character that has been given of too many among us, that " they have a thorough Indifference
 " for all that is sacred, being equally careless of
 " outward Worship, and of inward Principles,
 " whether of Faith or Practice." And " that
 " they have worn off a serious Sense of all Religion." It would be no wonder if some or all these

these evil Consequences, should have followed, in some Degree ; they have often done so in other Places, even where there was not the like fair Occasion. The Tempter always suits his Temptations, to the Circumstances of those he assaults. But these Things will be no good Objection against Liberty of Conscience, because infinitely greater Evils, necessarily follow on Persecution for Conscience sake.

Nevertheless our own Experience, on the Observations, and Reproaches of others, will dispose us to be peculiarly careful, against all these Evils, and some others, that our Constitution may be peculiarly liable and exposed to. Here in a particular Manner, let us be exhorted,

1. To prevent our *religious Differences*, from being ever carried into our civil Affairs---- Let them never make Factions in Government. —

2. Let us study for *Peace*, and to promote mutual Love among Christians of every Denomination. We should love all of CHRIST, we see in them, and as far as possible speak the same Things. On the one Hand, we should take heed that Charity and mutual Forbearance don't sink into Lukewarmness and Indifference to the Truth of the divine Institutions ; and on the other Hand, we should maintain our own Opinions, and manage the Defence of them, when Need requires it, with a Christian Spirit

Spirit of Candour, and Moderation. Especially, let us be warned by our own History, to take heed of imputing to others, the Consequences we think follow from their Opinions ; if on the Account of the Consequences, we can't embrace their Opinions, yet let us remember, every Man's Opinion must be taken from his own Understanding, and Judgment, and not from the Understanding, and Judgment of other Men.

It is no Pleasure to any real Christian, to see his Brethren, the Disciples of JESUS CHRIST, so divided as they are thro' the World, in their Opinions of various Articles, of his Religion ; and much less, to see them so divided in their Affections. Indeed, considering the finite Capacity, and the Corruption of humane Nature, we ought to expect a variety of Opinions in Religion, as well as in every Thing else. But as the Enemies to the Cross of Christ, make this, tho' unjustly, a Reproach to Christianity ; and as many weak Persons, are carried away with the Errors of the Wicked, every sincere Christian can't help wishing, that every stumbling Block, and Rock of Offence, was removed out of the Way, and that all Christians walked in the Truth, with one Consent of Heart and Voice. It is a Grief to a Christian, as 'tis a Scandal to the whole World, to see Christians, (so called) full of Envy, and Malice, hating, and reviling one another, and smiting with the Fist of Wickedness.

Wickedness. This, when all is said and done, is a more full and just Argument, that such have no Part in Christ, than any supposed orthodoxy of Opinion, can be of their Interest in Him. *For by this (says he) shall all Men know that ye are my Disciples, if ye have Love one to another.* It is a glorious Sight, to see the Disciples of J E S U S, live in Love & Peace, and “sweetly bear with one another in their lesser Differences:” To see every one, keeping the Ordinances, as he thinks C H R I S T has commanded him, and at the same Time, carefully abstaining from all Evil, and the Appearances of Evil ; and practising whatsoever Things are true, honest, just, and pure ; whatsoever Things are lovely, and of good Report.

When we have Freedom to search the Scripture, and Liberty to believe, and profess what we find there revealed, how unhappy would it be, if any should neglect their Priviledge, and be Fools and slow of Heart to improve the Opportunity they enjoy ? How unhappy would it be, if any should neglect the Worship of GOD, and the Institutions of C H R I S T J E S U S, because they are not enforced by humane penal Laws ? Let us be all able ever to give an Answer to every one, that asks us a Reason of the Hope that is in us, with Meekness, and Fear ; and let us lay aside all Wrath, Anger, Malice, Bigotry, and Censoriousness ; and endeavour to pay a universal and constant Regard

to the Will of GOD, revealed in his Word. Let us be united to Christ Jesus by a true & living Faith ; and let every Man take heed how he buildeth : *Other Foundation can no Man lay, than that which is laid, viz. the Prophets & Apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the great corner Stone.* Now if any Man build on this Foundation, Gold, Silver, precious Stones, Wood, Hay, Stubble ; every Man's Work shall be made manifest. For the Day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by Fire ; and the Fire shall try every Man's Work, of what sort it is. If any Man's Work shall be burnt, he shall suffer Loss ; but he himself shall be saved ; yet so, as by Fire.

3. Above all Things, let us unite in the practice of Piety and Holiness. Let us do justly, and love Mercy, and walk humbly with GOD ; let us deny all Ungodliness, and every worldly Lust, & live soberly, righteously, and godly, and perfect Holiness in the fear of GOD. These Things we may do without any Offence to any Party of Christians. If we be followers of that which is Good, who are they that will harm us, or be offended at us on that Account. Each Party requires all Men, to be redeemed from a vain Conversation ; every Party owns the Necessity, if they differ in the Nature of the Obligation of these Duties : Let us then unite in the Practice of them, and have our Conversation, as becometh the Gospel, which we in common profess. How unhappy, how inexcusable, would it be,

be, if Liberty of Conscience should degenerate into Licentiousness, and open a Door for a Flood of Immoralities? If while we plead a Right to think, and judge for our selves, and reject all meer human Authority, in Matters of Faith & Worship; we should neglect the sacred Laws of GOD, and the unalterable, and eternal Duties of Morality? It is certainly a Reproach to Christians, that they can be so zealously affected, about the Things, which are peculiar & distinguishing to each Sect respectively, and yet be so cold, and negligent of those, wherein they all agree. It is reasonable to suppose those Doctrines & Duties, which all agree in, are the most important, and essential. Let us then be truly concerned to glorify, & serve GOD, by a true & spiritual Worship, and the Vertues of a good Life; and to imitate the Example, which the great Author and finisher of our Faith hath set us. Let us hold fast the Form of sound Words we have received, and not make Shipwrack of Faith, and a good Conscience.

IV. I hope I shall be excused, if on this Occasion, I exhort *the Members of this Church in particular, to review the merciful Providences of GOD, which have hitherto preserved this Vine, which we trust, his own Right Hand hath planted.* We may sing of Judgment and of Mercy; in many sore Losses and Bereavements; in some uncomfortable Contentions; and in a total failure of Elders, for

many Years together. Nevertheless, the burning Bush has not been consumed ; the Church has still subsisted, and been resettled again in Peace and Comfort. Various are the Storms in which this Church has been tossed ; but thro' them all, GOD has preserved us. May we, and our Successors, be as a Name, and a Praise to Him, throughout all Generations ! Let us pray the Father of Lights, and the Lord of the Harvest, to revive and prosper his Work in the midst of these Years. May He unite our Hearts to Love Him more, and Serve Him better ; and to Love one another, and strive together to promote his Glory, and our mutual Edification, and Growth in Grace. May he *that minisreth Seed to the Sower, both minister Bread for your Food, and multiply the Seed sown, and increase the Fruits of your Righteousness.*

As this was the first Society, settled in Church order on this Island, as 'tis the eldest, (tho' nearly the least) let us strive to go before all others, in the primitive Simplicity, Love, Integrity, and publick Spiritedness.

Let us consider, whether we make good the Ground of those pious & excellent Christians, who first formed this Church ; & whether the Successors of Men, so holy, and so zealous, are not obliged in a singular Manner, to imitate them, wherein they followed CHRIST. We have professed a Subjection to the Gospel of CHRIST ; let our Lights
shine

shine before Men ; let us adorn the Doctrīne of God our SAVIOUR in all Things ; and let us hold the Beginning of our Confidence, stedfast to the End ; and let us consider one another, to provoke unto Love, and to good Works : In fine, let us contend earnestly for the Faith, and Order of the Gospel, once delivered to the Saints ; and at the same Time, maintain the unity of the Spirit in the Bonds of Peace. Him that is weak in the Faith receive, but not to doubtful Disputations. And the GOD of Patience & Consolation grant us to be like minded one towards another, according to CHRIST JESUS.

V. Is it not proper to remark, the very great Alteration which the merciful Providence of GOD has made, in the outward Circumstances, and Accommodations of the Inhabitants of the Island and Colony, since their first Settlement here.

We have reason to think, the very first Settlers, did not come here empty banded ; * but as their Stock, on which they lived, was by Degrees consumed, the produce of wild Lands was able to go but a little way, in purchasing a new Supply of many Comforts of Life ; and they were obliged to make an hard Shift with such Things, as the present Generation perhaps may too much despise. I don't well know, how to describe the Difference in some Articles, in suitable & grave Expressions : the mention

* Vid. Mr. Cotton's Way of Congregational Churches cleared. P 61. of

of some Instances, would perhaps surprize many. Let us then be thankful to GOD, who has blessed the Labours of our Hands ; and let us not wax Fat and kick against GOD, now we have eaten, and are full of the Mercies of the Lord.

Nay, would it be unuseful, or improper, to think of the outward Accommodations which the *present English Inhabitants enjoy*, above the *Aboriginal Natives*, and their *miserable Remainders among us* ? Doubtless, it would excite our Gratitude to GOD, who has made us to differ, and to say with *David*, *Blessed be thou, LORD God of Israel, our Father, for ever and ever. Thine, O LORD, is the Greatness, and the Power, & the Victory, & the Majesty, for all that is in the Heaven, or in the Earth, is thine. Thine is the Kingdom, O LORD, and thou art exalted as Head above all. Both Riches, & Honour come of thee, and thou reignest ever all ; & in thine Hand is Power, and Might, and in thine Hand it is to make Great, and to give Strength unto all. Now therefore our GOD, we thank thee, and praise thy glorious Name !*

VI. Lastly. As the pious People, who first planted this *Island and Colony*, were so concerned, about the best way of evidencing a Man's good Estate, methinks, there is no more proper Remark, for us to finish with, than the *Duty, the Wisdom, and the Necessity of every one, to get into a good Estate as to GOD, and the future World ; and to seek after sufficient and satisfactory Evidence thereof.*

I mean not to revive the old Dispute ; I am well satisfied, the Difference may be compromised, with great Ease & Justice ; but to perswade each of us to think of this Article, with seriousness, & suitable Concern. What will it signify, which of those Ways is the most satisfactory, if we our selves have no Grounds for Satisfaction, in either of them ? And what can excuse us neglecting to work out our Salvation, and make our Calling & Election sure, when GOD is working in us to will, and to do, of his good Pleasure ? Alas ! how very common is it for Persons, who live under the Gospel, to be very careless & unconcerned in this Matter ? for many who call themselves Christians, to presume they are something, when indeed they are nothing ? and cry Peace, Peace to themselves, when they are in the Gall of Bitterness, and the Bonds of Iniquity ; and have no Lot or Part in the Christian Salvation ?

A Man's good Estate consists in his being *reconciled to God through Jesus Christ*, who was delivered for our Offences, & raised again for our Justification. Let us aim to have both the *Testimony of our own Consciences*, and the *Spirit of God witnessing together with our Spirit*, that we are the Children of GOD, and Heirs with CHRIST, to the Inheritance of the Saints in Light. And may He that is able, keep us from falling, and present us faultless, before his Presence with exceeding Joy.

To Conclude, Should not *this Solemnity* put us in *Mind of our mortal transitory Condition*, and so stir us up the more, to give Diligence to make our Calling and Election sure. The Generations of Men are passing away continually. *Not one Person*, that we know of, is now alive, *of all those who began this Settlement* ; and but few remain of the second Generation. Death is daily preying upon us. Should we not then be the more quickned in the securing our eternal Welfare ? Should we not do with our Might, what our Hands find to do, before the Night of Death overtakes us ?

Let us remember *we are Strangers and Pilgrims here, as were all our Fathers* ; and let us seek after a City which is to come, which hath Foundations, whose Builder & Maker is GOD. And let us be followers of those, who through Faith & Patience, inherit the Promises.

Let this Occasion, *an Occasion we can never expect again*, excite us to number our Days aright ; so as to apply our Hearts to true Wisdom. May we so prepare for Death and Judgment, and the eternal World, as that an Entrance may be at last administered to us into the Everlasting Kingdom of our Lord & Saviour JESUS CHRIST : *Which GOD of His infinite Mercy grant thro' Him : To whom with the FATHER and the HOLY SPIRIT, be all Honour, Glory & Power, both now & ever. AMEN.*

F I N I S.

Advertisement.

THe Reader is desired to Excuse & Correct the wrong Punctuation in several Places, and the following Errata, most of which injure the Sense; and to insert a few Amendments. Title Page, read the first Century.

Dedication p. 4 l. 5. r. Opposition. l. 15. r. and his. p. 6. l. 6. f. seemed, r. secured.

Sermon p. 1. l. 2. in the Note f. Miantonimok r. Miantonimob. p. 11. l. 18. after and which, insert *at first*. p. 12. l. 11. after Charter, insert, which included Liberty of Conscience. p. 19. l. 22. f. East r. last. In the Note l. 1. f. Nantiggansick r. Nanyhansick. p. 22. l. 5. r. express in their own Way. p. 28. l. 7. r. Gods. p. 30. l. 7. dele the south-easterly Part of. Note. l. 4. dele first. p. 32. l. 12. r. Wampanoags. p. 34. Note l. 8. r. become. p. 41. l. 20. r. Forms. p. 45. l. 10. f. Associates r. Assistants. p. 46. l. 17. f. to r. at. p. 53. l. 2. r. Judgment. p. 56. Note l. 9. r. Williams. p. 60. l. 17. r. Arguments. p. 62. l. 2. f. this r. the. l. 4. f. their r. these. p. 65. l. 25. r. J. & J. Maxon. p. 66. l. 19. r. 1700. p. 70. l. 7. r. Sachem. l. 9. r. Nanyhansicks. p. 72. l. 16. after Terror, insert, and so. p. 73. l. 1. r. Wampanoags. p. 76. l. 12. r. 19th December. p. 78. l. 1. for in, r. on. l. 2. from the bottom, f. in, r. from. p. 79. Notes l. 7. for Awashonks, r. Weetamore. p. 83. l. 11. f. Societies, r. Sectaries. p. 86. l. last but one, r. Nicommors. p. 91. l. 21. r. a few who. l. 22. r. remain. p. 92. l. 19. for Boston, r. Charlestown. p. 94. l. 23. in the Notes, for part of those of them who, r. Proportion. l. 27. r. Recovery. p. 100. l. 23. r. Wampanoags. p. 109. l. 4. in the Note r. Groundlessness. l. 10. f. the r. those. p. 111. l. 10. f. on r. or. p. 112. l. 5. f. the r. those.



